

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Susan Braden to Melanne Verveer, re: First Lady as Honorary President of Vital Voices (1 page)	n.d.	P5
002. note	Amy Comstock to Katy, re: First Lady as Honorary President of Vital Voices (3 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
WHORM Subject Files - GENERAL
PP005-01
OA/Box Number: 17804

FOLDER TITLE:

308453

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr809

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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MEMO FOR: Melanne Verveer

From: Susan Braden *SB*

Subject: First Lady as Honorary President of Vital Voices-Bulgaria

Melanne, from the NSC's perspective, it would be great if the First Lady accepted the position of Honorary President of the National Vital Voices-Bulgaria. However, the NSC's review is limited to the foreign policy merits of this proposal. Our legal office tells us that the use of the First Lady's name, likeness or words by private entities, in particular for fundraising efforts, requires the approval of the Office of White House Counsel. While we do not believe the use of her name in this case is directly related to fundraising, our legal office recommends that you clear proposal with Amy Comstock in White House Council. Let us know if there is more we can do.

*Alice -
Melanne wants us to
reach out to them with a
very nice note explaining she
can't be Hon. Pres., but can do
any specific events. HRC not this
whole thing started. -RC*

*Office -
want to
do this -
to see if
we can
clear
with
Counsel
NSC.*

*I'd like to adapt the
from letter accept'ce
to be more personal.
This group is a
big success for Mrs C.*

COPY

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Kathy-

As we discussed, not
honorary president, but
may serve as "honorary
chair" of specific event,
where it is easier for
us to see how they
are going to use
her name. The

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problem w/ honorary
president of an
organization is that
they may use her
name for all its
business (stationery)
which would not
be appropriate.

Amy Constock
6-6229

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Ann Lewis to President Clinton, re: Women in Afghanistan (1 page)	7/23/1999	P5
002. statement	Woman from Afghanistan [partial] (2 pages)	6/22/1999	P6/b(6)
003. agenda	Meeting with Louise Frechette (2 pages)	n.d.	P5
004. agenda	Meetings at State (2 pages)	7/1999	P5
005. list	Use of Customs House [partial] (1 page)	2/24/1999	P6/b(6)
006. notes	UN Strategy (4 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Chief of Staff
Ann Lewis
OA/Box Number: 16429

FOLDER TITLE:

Bijing Plus Five

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr774

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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Agenda – Meeting with Louise Frechette

1. Thanks and acknowledgement for her role – leadership in pulling people together – hope she will continue.
2. Our goals for Special Session:
 - move forward PfA
 - visibility, appreciation UN in action
3. To achieve, UN must take seriously:
 - Role of Kofi Annan
 - Use Dag Hammarskjold Plaza for event
 - Other locations, high level events
 - Resources
 - Staff, personnel
4. For example, will DAW have support to get through negotiating process after document drafted –
Will other agencies with expertise be involved?
5. Documents
 - Her view how documents are coming along?
 - Review and Appraisal? Outcomes and Trends?
 - Be clear: if we had our preference, would not be another negotiated document
 - But at least: Don't reopen PfA
 - Start with draft that is strong and short and maintain positive approach through negotiations
 - Go for language that takes us forward; for example use of benchmarks, already agreed on by other agencies so don't try to create de novo
6. NGO Access, accreditation, participation
 - Note: Copenhagen uses different – progressive - standard for accreditation, enables new NGOs to apply – but regressive on participation – only 5 NGOs, need gov't approval
7. Resources for teleconference, enable women all over world to participate
 - We have talked to Nadine Hack, know will take UN resources to work
8. Other UN events just before and after
 - Millennium NGO forum 2 weeks before
 - (Copenhagen + 5 after in Geneva)
 - How do they see these working together – not compete

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Meeting with June Zeitlin, Theresa Loar, Melanne Vermeer, Lidia Soto-Harmon, Linda Kizer
1/5/00

Concerns for Louise Frechette Meeting:

I. DAW is weak – needs staff to be assigned or borrowed

Not bringing in other UN agencies with expertise -eg UNIFEM; no plan to circulate drafts within other agencies

Reflected in lack of strategy for outcome; failure to focus on issues or goals

II. Of documents to be produced by W2000:

1. Political declaration is “almost there” – should be finished at intersessional end of January

2. Review and appraisal: produced by DAW, non-negotiated – based on questionnaires submitted by nation-states; work underway (but for example, had not translated Arabic documents as of very recently)

3. Outcomes – negotiated document which means draft needs to be ready by CSW early March but not begun so far as we know

Preferred contents:

3-4 emerging issues/challenges

(already included in PFA but last 5 years have brought new urgency to need to face, eg AIDS)

+ concrete benchmarks /goals for areas which UNIFEM has identified, where statistical markers are possible : both past progress and agreed on goals –

--would provide yardsticks for governments and NGOs to measure progress

III. NGO Access/accreditation:

Would it be possible to have same rules for each conference, so Beijing + 5 would be same as Social Summit, with 3 categories: went to Beijing; accredited to ECOSOC, and new requests

Ann raised concern whether document # 3 doable in present circumstance: has to be written and circulated by same staff struggling with # 2 and be ready by end of February?? Could only be done and still not easy – if DAW contracts with writer, narrowly focuses on potential or emerging issues, and incorporate UNIFEM work on benchmarks

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July 12-13 mtgs. at State
(Includes Human rights NGOs and general NGOs)

Goal of Human Rights NGO meeting: . Keep focus on human rights

Questions:

1. Number on delegation (s) including public members

To Regional meetings ?

(in '95 had 3 "permanent public members")

Prepcomm in March ?

UNGA

Ann raised with Michael Southwick at IO. No specific limit (Number 10 = threshold exec branch employees for reporting back , but in practice they report each time)

Note: At human rights NGO meeting , Sameena Nazer requested that US govt. "sponsor" NGO delegation that is diverse racially, ethnically, and on issues and that AID sponsors NGOs from other countries

(If not all countries, esp. problem countries such as South Asia, Mideast. Teresa said will discuss with colleagues for key countries, based on Cairo +5 experience))

Caution in discussing funding: Not widespread govt. funding -restrictions by Congress

But consider targeting certain countries where participation really important (e.g. Pakistan)

And try to encourage non-government funding

**Problems with visas ? asks that we be aware of potential problems with visas (Teresa: especially with financial documents required women from Asian countries, difficult to meet standards) We will work with consulates to prepare for requests for visas.

2. NGO Access to UN sessions

Problems at NCPD with access to General Assembly session

5 slots on plenary program -then taken back ; 50 tickets to highest gallery only

(but: Sarah -not problem in working session)

Aware possible problems at regional meetings -US will work to increase access

Kathy Hendrix :Check to see what other countries/groups (e.g. Canada) are doing to bring in NGOs

3. Lessons learned from Cairo +5 process?

Peggy Curlin, CEDPA: "Keep your eye on main prize -marking progress "

(Don't get sucked into using energy on document)

Teresa: ask all of your help how we use opportunity to reaffirm

(Did get change in Cairo language -turned out opposition = small minority but well organized and vocal)

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4. US Goal = A Political (Visionary) Declaration

Affirming platform, commitment to build on, and extending platform and Nairobi strategy
Include Commitments and Lessons learned

Is this US goal ? What happened as result of "formal informals" at UN ?

Teresa -not aware of meetings -but yes to goal of declaration as "chapeau" on five year review; will try to get date any future "formal informals"

5. Perhaps ask agencies to hold open meetings as part of 5-year review ??

General NGO Questions

4. Maria Reilly, Center of Concern

Question how to have input ; possibility of issue specific discussions with NGOs with specific areas of expertise ?

Teresa suggested could have separate group meetings as doing with Human Rights groups

5. June Zeitlin (see separate Zeitlin notes)

NGOs meeting in NY recommended: focus on action/outcomes

reduce platform to fewer concrete areas ?

Use year to produce outcomes/results

Bring International home: CEDAW, etc.

6. CONGO June 3-4--plans 2day session—not NGO forum (Status on Women Commission voted not to hold NGO forum)

but will hold 2-day session to "prepare for UNGA"

(CONGO = NGOs recognized by ECOSOC)

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UN strategy

resp
lost
mainly
UN
deadlines

Sharon Kolok

civil servant

knows UN well

but have to be clear

**

Betty King "greatly"

Pub to
ECS
ECS

Nancy Rubin

Peter Berle
Nancy Berber

ideal & Betty has really
smart person

US = champion UNOs

Q-77 = trying to unravel UNO participation

Need person working on document / "thinker"

Kathleen Hendrix?

as a member contract - DLD -

effective w/ UN system -

Preplow-

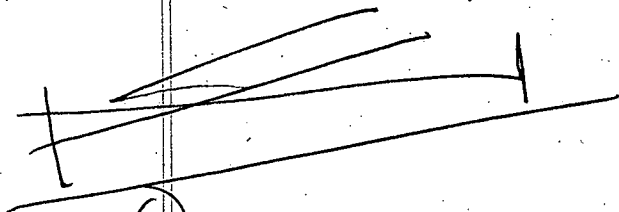
status of Q & Hdey

I

so some people

COPY

Only Low
 Demand → → Ambassador &
 cables
 go also before req



① Downside/Outcome Strategy

② UN Strat

③ US ComHeads

Interagency Council -

④ Public Outreach

② Open Wgo
 regular
 brief up

Lidea / unchanged
 D Sreq utgs

Canceled logishcs
 do w/ w/ substance

⑤ Web Site
 [need B
 Publications]

Electronic Snapshot

⑥ IHI - Moloney & Kelly -
 co chair host committee?

COPY

?? USQ Conned - still getting organized?

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⑦ NQO Conference -

⑧ US ^{*} honor/reception ^{*} for
heads of state

needs
Sharon
Yobok
Bettany

⑨ Parallel Events
NQOs

Jeff
Meer
US for UN
Beijing
Great Resource
Q & A
Conflict...

⑩ Satellite Conference | needs coord
June | Nadine Haack?

*
*
Joan
Wishup
Stanley
Foundation
??

⑪ Nancy Rubin -

Li da Tai - Wilson

represent US
specific mgs
UN Bodies -

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Lisa Caputo to Hillary Clinton et al. (4 pages)	8/30/1995	P5
002. memo	Lisa Caputo to Maggie Williams (6 pages)	8/31/1995	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
First Lady's Press Office (Lisa Caputo)
OA/Box Number: 10239

FOLDER TITLE:

Beijing Media Strategy

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr792

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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MEMORANDUM

To: Hillary, Maggie, Melanne (cc: Neel, Patti)
Fr: Lisa
Re: Suggested Media Strategy for UN Fourth World Conference on Women
Dt: August 30, 1995

Throughout your trip, it is important for us to underscore your longstanding work and advocacy on behalf of women, families and children. It is important to stress the interconnection between these issues: If women flourish, families flourish, economies flourish and therefore communities and societies are healthy, strong and flourishing. This will provide the media with a context for your trip to Beijing and will also serve as the uniting theme, tying together your trips to Beijing, Copenhagen and South Asia, and your speeches to the UN to all of the work that you have done here at home domestically on behalf of women, families and children not just as First Lady but over the past 25 years. While you are in Beijing, Carol Browner, Ann Bryan and Betsy Myers will serve as the principle spokespeople or voices for the conference here at home.

I think to reinforce the notion of bringing your trip to Beijing home, it is important to schedule some listening sessions following the Atlanta and Santa Fe models upon your return. These events will serve to visually and substantively connect your trip to the UN Women's Conference to women in the United States. I would propose doing one or two with working women and one with young women (college or late high school age). The event with young women could be pegged to the "back to school" theme and would communicate the importance to investing in the education of young women to the overall health of our economy and our society. The reason I suggest both working women and younger women events is to draw a connection between the two. Investing in and educating girls and younger women leads to working women who will contribute to a healthy and prosperous society.

In addition to scheduled events, we should give some thought to potential media opportunities. I have some thoughts which I have outlined below. Maggie, Melanne and I agree that we do not want to make any commitments at this time and want to stay fluid to see how things go in China. I generally propose some press opportunities while on the trip, followed by a series of press opportunities when you return as a way to report back to the American people, particularly American women, on your trip. With all this in mind, here are some suggested press opportunities and possible dates with the goal of riding out the positive press coverage and positive press relations we hope to gain on this trip. I make a lot of suggestions so that you have a number of different options from which to pick and choose:

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o 10 minute one-on-one interview with Judy Woodruff of CNN while in Beijing (Judy will be anchoring from Beijing during the Women's Conference). -- September 6.

o 30 minute on the record wrap up session with travelling press corps. We should do this session in Mongolia on the terrace of the Guest House which Maggie says is beautiful. I would suggest having a very informal cocktail reception with the press on the terrace on September 7 and then do your wrap up session the following morning on September 8. It would be a nice conclusion to the trip. -- September 7 and September 8.

o Dan Rather has requested a one-on-one interview with you upon your return for the evening news. He has requested to be the first prime time television interview. I would suggest pre-taping a 10 minute one-on-one interview with Dan Rather on September 11 to air that evening. What I like about the Rather interview as the first interview when you are back is that it establishes the Women's Conference and women's issues as a serious story. This will help to reinforce our message that women's issues are not "soft" issues. -- September 11.

o Suggest a women's listening session event in DC/Baltimore area on September 11 or 12. Not only would this serve to immediately bring your trip to Beijing home, but it will also give fresh domestic b-roll footage to tie in with the footage from Beijing. If we do a women's listening session in a college town (i.e. Baltimore), you could conduct a college press round table discussion to talk about your trip and women's issues after the listening session. If we do women's listening session in a college town, I would suggest going to a community college. I think it is also important to do a listening session in the Midwest as soon as we can upon return.

o 30 minute live appearance on "Good Morning America" with women from Atlanta and Santa Fe listening sessions to discuss UN Fourth World Conference on Women and related issues. The preference is to have you in the studio in NY with Joan Lunden and the women from the listening sessions and then have a satellite interaction with women at Beijing conference (probably Ela Bhatt and one other) -- September 12 or 13.

o Guest appearance on "Regis & Kathie Lee" from 9 am-10 am after "Good Morning America" while we are in NY. Regis and Kathie Lee has a huge women's audience and would be an important target group for you to hit. -- September 12 or 13.

o On the record press breakfast with Los Angeles Times. To be broadcast by C-SPAN. Not only is California an important state for us politically, but the Los Angeles Times understands international and Pacific Rim politics. In addition, it has a large audience of opinion makers. -- September 13 or 14.

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-3-

- o 30 minute one-on-one interview with Lanny Jones of People Magazine. You could do the interview with White House photo spread of photos taken during your trip. -- Week of September 11 to come out on the stands the week of September 18.

- o Education trade press -- Roundtable discussion with education reporters to talk importance of education of young women and girls to our economy and our society. -- Week of September 11. (The week of September 11 is National Education Week and the President will be doing education events that week. This roundtable discussion would complement the President nicely and serve to get out our message.)

- o One hour of television satellites into major markets for their noon television shows, which are usually heavily female audiences. -- September 14 or 15.

- o One hour of radio interview time with radio talk shows heavily geared to women's audiences. -- September 14 or 15.

- o Host an on the record luncheon at White House for the editors of women's magazines. -- Week of September 11 or week of September 18. (I think this is something we should institute on a regular basis over the next year, perhaps once every three months.)

- o Do a background or on the record meeting with the "economic tong". (There are a number of tongs, or informal groups of reporters, that Mike McCurry is trying pull in on a regular basis to see senior White House officials in order to give them more access and a context for their stories.) You could talk about economic issues as they pertain to women. Mike McCurry thinks this would be a great idea. -- Week of September 18.

- o Pitch a "Prime Time Live" segment which would be done by Ann Compton that would tell the story of your trip to South Asia and Beijing and how those two trips relate to what you are doing here at home. Suggest air date September 13, the day before the Beijing conference ends, or a week later on September 20. This would probably entail a 20 minute one-on-one interview with Ann Compton.

- o Recycle portions of your speeches in China and your speech to the Denver Women's Economic Forum into an op ed for USA Today -- week of September 18, preferably to run in the weekend edition which comes out on Friday, September 22.

- o If we were to go to the Midwest to do a listening session, we should give some thought to doing Oprah. It is a perfect target audience both demographically and in size.

- o We should make a special effort to reach out and talk to Catholic women should anything be ruffled by the right wing about

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- 4 -
your trip to China. The could entail an interview with the Catholic Standard.

o We may want to consider reaching out and doing an interview with the largest Methodist newspaper in order to communicate directly with Methodist women about your trip.

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Maggie
FR: Lisa
RE: HRC Media Possibilities
DT: August 31, 1995

It is clear to me that Hillary is most comfortable doing press that is built around a specific purpose. I have mapped out a media plan around the Beijing Women's Conference and I feel we have a solid press strategy in place around the start of the book tour. As Hillary embarks on her book tour, I think it is important for us to consider returning to our 1992 campaign press strategy and have her do local interviews in the local markets. (See Regional Press section below.) The benefit of the book tour media is that Hillary will be at home and comfortable with the topic and therefore, the good press coverage on the book tour will give her good political mileage.

In addition to the Beijing strategy and the book tour strategy, I have given a lot of thought over the past week to some press ideas for Hillary as she enters the fall and going into the campaign. I specifically thought about ways to reach our targeted audiences, place Hillary in a positive light and make her feel comfortable.

1) Women's Media -- Hillary should own the women's media. By women's media I mean that media which reaches women and is produced by women and is heard and trusted by women. Hillary can accomplish this goal several different ways:

- o Meet with the editors of the women's magazines once a month or once every two months. This can be done in New York and in Washington. It would be nice to alternate it. When the editors come to Washington, we could set up a morning briefing session with senior female Administration officials so that they are brought up to speed on the Administration's record. Hopefully, this outreach will produce stories in the women's magazines about the President's accomplishments and record and turn the editors into Clinton surrogates.

- o Women's television -- We should have Hillary appear on local noon television shows either by satellite or in person when she is doing an event in a major media market. Local noon shows have large female viewership. In addition, the morning shows have large women's audiences. We should explore some additional creative ways to put Hillary on the morning shows. We are already off and running well on this front with the CBS This Morning show with the audience of mothers, the Good Morning America show with the women from the listening sessions to be done after Beijing and finally the children's town meeting around the book idea for the Today Show. Oprah and Regis and Kathie Lee are also important for us to consider.

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o Women's sections of newspapers -- These are not the "style" sections in most newspapers across the country, but rather the "features" sections. In fact, Hillary's column is running in the features sections of many papers. These sections are widely read by women. Hillary could write an op ed that could be sent out to these sections of newspapers across the country. In addition, she could conduct interviews with reporters from these sections when she is in their local market doing a women's listening session event.

o Women's radio -- Richard Strauss has a good list of radio talk shows that target women's audiences. Hillary likes to do radio interviews and has always been a fan of radio. We should capitalize on this, especially since radio is such an underutilized medium yet arguably one of the most powerful in terms of outreach. It would be wonderful if we could take an hour each week to talk to these different radio talk shows as well as to Clinton friendly radio talk shows. We could do 5-6 interviews per hour of radio time.

o Specialty women's press -- This is an untapped area for Hillary that I think could be wonderful for her. We could work with Peggy Lewis to come up with a list of targeted outlets that Hillary could speak with either on a conference call or in a roundtable situation. If she prefers not to do anything on the record, we could write pieces under her name for these publications. It should not be too difficult to do since we can excerpt from her recent speeches. Some examples of specialty women's press outlets would include religious women's magazines and newsletters for educators and nurses. We should speak with the trade associations about their publications and see which publications would be beneficial for Hillary to reach. These would be very targeted publicity shots.

o Regular Mailings to Women's Media -- We can coordinate with Betsy Myers and Lori McHugh to make sure that a Hillary Clinton weekly mailing of a speech or speeches, or clips from a particular event, or an op ed is sent to the women's media.

2) Regional Media -- We were so successful during the 1992 campaign in implementing this strategy. I think it is now time to think about returning to this strategy to reacquaint people across the country through their local and hometown papers and television stations with Hillary Clinton. Hillary is comfortable with the local reporters and enjoys speaking with them. This will help us get around her aversion to the national Washington media and serve to counter the tone of the national media. Just as in 1992, good local press will develop into a ripple effect which will begin to influence the coverage of the national newspapers. This regional press strategy will be important during the book tour as the book tour will present us with an opportunity to reacquaint Hillary with the public in a non-political setting and with a topic she is not only comfortable

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with and has a lengthy history on but is also popular with Americans in general, particularly women.

In addition, Hillary could take advantage of the visits of regional editors and reporters who are invited to White House dinners as guests. We could have these people meet individually with Hillary for 10-15 minutes during the day when they come to town for a White House dinner. They could also meet with White House senior staff.

3) Senior Media -- Seniors, especially senior women, like Hillary. We should reinforce this, and perhaps begin to target older American audiences. I think it is worth considering doing radio interviews into Florida in particular, and interviews with some of the senior trade publications. At present, we are tentatively slated to do an interview with The AARP Bulletin on September 12 on breast cancer, older women and mammograms to run in their October issue for Breast Cancer Awareness Month. We may want to work with Alexis Herman to check with various large consumer groups to explore new innovative ways to reach seniors.

4) College Press

o Starting in the fall, I think it is important for Hillary to visit college campuses around the country and speak. College students are important voters. When on a campus, she could do interviews with the college radio station and do a roundtable discussion with reporters from the local colleges and universities in the area we are visiting. We could also think about hosting college newspapers here at the White House and set them up with a morning briefing on the President's accomplishments and then conclude with an interview with the President.

o I would also propose that Hillary do something with U Magazine, a college magazine that has a circulation of 1.5 million and is distributed to 325 college campuses around the US. The lead time is 3-4 months. Hillary could either write an op ed or column or do an interview.

5) College Television Interactive Hook Up -- Hillary could partake in a college tv broadcast that would be an interactive hook up between college campuses in a particular target region of the country, perhaps the Midwest. For example, she could go to Michigan and base out of the University of Michigan and be connected with 10 colleges in the region. She could give a speech, teach a class or conduct a mini town meeting consisting of questions and answers with students from the schools participating in the interactive hook-up. We could pitch this interactive program to be broadcast on CSPAN or PBS.

6) Clintons' 20th Wedding Anniversary -- I think this is a wonderful opportunity for Hillary. There are a variety of things that we can do:

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o If Hillary is comfortable throwing a big party, we could give a wonderful photo spread to People magazine of photos from the party coupled with old photos of their honeymoon and of special moments for them over the past 20 years. It would be like creating a photo album for People magazine that could turn into a nice mail piece later on.

o Hillary could do an interview with one of the major women's magazines, probably Family Circle, about her anniversary.

o This might be a nice time peg to have the President and Hillary do a special joint television interview with Barbara Walters. A Barbara Walters interview would attract an important audience of women and seniors. If we did an interview around the anniversary time peg, it would not appear to be political. If we pursued Barbara Walters on this front, we may want to entertain giving the first Hillary book television interview to someone else.

7) Eleanor Roosevelt's Birthday -- Eleanor Roosevelt's birthday is in October and it would be wonderful for Hillary to celebrate the birthday with a day of events at the White House. I think it is beneficial to Hillary to do historical events every month or every 6 weeks. These events will help place a context around her and what she is doing as First Lady. We should look for historical events to celebrate that will help put Hillary into an historical context. So often there is no historical context in stories written about Hillary. If we are able to place her in situations which celebrate historical events, it may help to round out her image and make what she is doing seem less extreme or different in the eyes of the media.

8) Election Day -- We could use election day this year for Hillary to do an event around women's suffrage. She received such wonderful publicity leading up to and on the anniversary of women's suffrage earlier this month that we should take advantage of an opportunity to keep that positive publicity going.

9) Hillary Clinton Fan Club Visit -- At the end of September, over 100 coordinators of the Hillary Clinton Fan Club from the US, Japan and England will spend a day at the White House starting with a tour, then a briefing and ending with a reception. Since this event occurs on Friday, September 29, it would be wonderful to do a nice morning show piece with the Loves, the 70-year-old and 60-year-old husband and wife duo who organized the Hillary Clinton Fan Club, as a set up or curtain raiser. They are wonderful surrogates for Hillary who come across so well on television. It would then be nice to have a feature story written that would run in the Sunday newspapers. I would suggest having Larry Knutson of the AP follow the members of the fan club around for the day, interview some of them and then have Hillary spend a little bit of time with him. We should get the broadest outreach possible with an AP story. We could also see if C-SPAN would be interested in covering Hillary

COPY

Clinton Fan Club Day at the White House. In addition to the AP story, we could set up some of the fan club members with interviews with their hometown newspapers and radio stations so that we would get a nice national AP hit coupled with nice individual local hits. I think it would be great.

10) Town Meetings/Q and A Sessions with Specialized or Targeted Audiences -- I think that Hillary thrives in venues that are televised town meeting-like or question and answer formats with a specialized audience. The CBS This Morning program with the audience of mothers for Mother's Day is a wonderful example. I think it would be wonderful to look for more opportunities like that which are good for Hillary and play so positively in the media. Perhaps we could think about a town meeting with parents (maybe we could peg one around Child Health Day in New York on October 2 since that is already on HRC's schedule), a town meeting with senior citizens, a town meeting with children (like we are planning to do with the Today Show around Hillary's book), a town meeting with veterans around Veterans Day. We could do these types of events in key political regions of the country and we could work to have them televised either nationally by a morning show or locally through an affiliate or PBS.

11) Parenting magazines -- There are 3-4 of these publications and Hillary recently wrote a piece for one of them about Chelsea. I think it makes sense for Hillary to do something with each one of these publications either in the form of an interview or writing a guest piece. I think it is important for her to stress the intergenerational theme with these publications. For example, she could write or talk about how her mother raised her and what she in turn learned from her mother in the way she has raised Chelsea. She could write or talk about how her friends have chosen different ways to raise a family either by being full time mothers or being working mothers, and how each parent needs to make the choice that is right for them.

12) Internet -- As Karen has said, Internet has become a very popular mode of communication. Hillary could speak to young women through Internet. I think Hillary would have fun with this, and I believe it would not be too difficult to organize. We could invite women's media (ie. the women's magazines) in to watch her do such an event. It would make for a nice story in a women's magazine.

In addition, People magazine is tinkering with the possibility of using Internet. They have been in touch with me about the prospect of having Hillary communicate with parents across the country about children and families through Internet. They would then run the transcript in the magazine. This could be a really nice idea. They are still in the research stage and I am waiting to hear back from them.

13) Off the record dinners with opinion makers in New York -- Sid Blumenthal has spoken with myself, Melanne and Hillary about having Hillary meet informally over dinner with some New York

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opinion makers in the media. I think this is a terrific idea, and perhaps we can have Sid take the lead on this. These are not the mainstream New York media, but rather those people whom the New York Times respects intellectually. These people do not know Hillary at all, and Sid thinks she would win them over immediately. Because we know Hillary will win them over, this will lead to positive talk or chatter about Hillary in these circles which will help inoculate or diffuse any negatives that may arise in the mainstream press. He and I agree that it would be great if Hillary could do some of these dinners over the upcoming months. Some of the people that Sid suggests inviting to such an informal dinner are: Bob Silver, editor of the New York Review; Victor Nevaski, editor of the Nation and Francis Fitzgerald.

14) Video News Releases -- We had terrific success with video news releases on the mammogram campaign. It would be wonderful if we could work with Betsy Myers' shop to put together some video news releases of Hillary's listening sessions with women across the country.

15) ABC Home Improvement -- I know this may sound like a wild idea, but I think it is an interesting one to discuss. Rick Kaplan brought to my attention that Home Improvement would very much like to have Hillary make a guest appearance on its show. Home Improvement is the most popular television show on the air. They are willing to do a show on women, children and family issues or a show on whatever issues Hillary would like. The outreach would be enormous and it would present Hillary in a very likeable light I believe. Although I have some concerns that it diminishes the role of First Lady by going on a tv sitcom, it is probably worth weighing it against what we believe we might be able to gain by such an appearance politically and image-wise. You probably know that Rick is 100 percent in favor of Hillary pursuing this project.

16) Hillaryland Staff Outreach to Media -- I am dining out regularly with members of the White House press corps for lunch and dinner which I think is helpful to Hillary. I think it would be even better for Hillary if you, Melanne, Ann Stock, Ann Lewis, Lissa and Neel could carve out some time in your schedules to socialize more with the media. I think that the more of us who are out there informally and socially with the press the better it is for Hillary. I believe it would create enormous good will for Hillary since we can all tell wonderful Hillary anecdotes that humanize her and show the press the good person that she is. (For example, Lissa always tells the anecdote about Hillary loving to have her twins come to the office.) I believe if we were all out there consistently, we would erode the notion in the press that sometimes exists of Hillary being in a bunker mentality. I could draw up a list of key national media and assign various reporters to each of us, developing a sort of buddy system for the next year. (Much like the way we did during the health care reform debate with Administration officials.)

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Phone No. [partial] (1 page)	8/28/1998	P6/b(6)
002. letter	T.J. Dowling to Jack Murray [partial] (1 page)	8/28/1998	P6/b(6)
003. schedule	Hillary Clinton [partial] (4 pages)	9/1/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(E)
004. schedule	Hillary Clinton [partial] (2 pages)	9/2/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(E)
005. schedule	Hillary Clinton [partial] (1 page)	9/3/1998	P6/b(6)
006. schedule	Hillary Clinton [partial] (1 page)	9/4/1998	P6/b(6)
007. list	Hillary Clinton's Trip (3 pages)	n.d.	b(7)(E)
008. schedule	Draft - Hillary Clinton [partial] (1 page)	9/1998	P6/b(6)
009. memo	Julie Allaire-MacDonald to Paige Alexander, re: Request for Recommendations on FLOTUS and POTUS Visits (4 pages)	8/5/1998	P5
010. business card	Cathy Grieve [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 First Lady's Office
 First Lady's Press Office (Lissa Muscatine: Subject Files)
 OA/Box Number: 20081

FOLDER TITLE:

Vital Voices: Ireland/Russia 9/98

Whitney Ross
 2006-0198-F
 wt763

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

COPY

TO: Paige Alexander, AID/ENI
FROM: Julie Allaire-MacDonald, USAID/Russia
SUBJECT: Request for Recommendations on FLOTUS and POTUS Visits

POSSIBLE FLOTUS EVENTS:

I. NGO Partners Roundtable:

Attached in a longer memo are our suggestions for representatives of US and Russian partnership organizations who could be invited, a brief description of the partnership and its accomplishments, and a blurb about the US representative. Information is provided about the purpose/accomplishments of the partnership, as well as benefits derived by US and Russian partners.

The document is much longer than you requested, however we are attempting to respond to both ENI and WH questions, as well as those being posed by our Russian counterparts. In addition, we are preparing a list of prospective invitees, as requested by our contact at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This list is longer than you estimated, however we expect that people will be cut from the list by either the USG or GOR, and others may be unable to attend. (The list will simply extract participant names from the memo).

2. Small Business Development Site Visit

Moscow is very limited in terms of small business site visit opportunities, since over 90% of USAID's business development portfolio is in the regions. That said, there are a couple of things that we could offer.

*CBSD (the Center for Business Skills Development) was on the slate for the POTUS team, and we have already done a couple of walk-throughs. It is a nice site as it combines the public/private partnership aspect with business training, and is located in a historically significant site and has been nicely renovated. Thirty-three percent of the managers who have gone through the program are women.

* There is also a great client of our Business Volunteer Program - the Russian National Symphony had an IESC volunteer and they drastically revised their fund raising and marketing efforts as a result of the assignment.

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* Then there is the Junior Achievement Russia grant agreement that is pending - this could present an opportunity for a signing event, and would fit in with the youthful push (next generation, training, etc.) in their program. We have previously suggested this as a possible joint event for the two first ladies, given the cancellation of the NGO conference.

Note: we do not think BCC would make a good site visit. The office does not lend itself well to large groups and it is not much of a "hands-on" activity - the majority of their work is done outside of the office and over the Internet. Likewise, CSRE (the acronym for ACDI/VOCA volunteer program) does not have any significant or noteworthy clients in the area - the majority of their successful assignments have been in Khabarovsk and Novgorod. We also believe that there are other Americans besides Sharon Tennison (CCI) involved with USAID's business portfolio who can provide a fresh take on things. Lastly, the Association of American-Russian Women does not have any activities in the region - they are affiliated with the Volkhov Incubator well outside of both Moscow and St. Petersburg.

3. Possible Rule-of-Law Site Visit/Event in Moscow

Background: The Supreme Commercial Court of the Russian Federation (SCC) (also known as the Supreme Arbitration Court) is the highest court in Russia's system of courts having jurisdiction over disputes between businesses (including foreign investors), or between businesses and subdivisions of the RF government (i.e., disputes concerning taxes, customs, etc.). There are approximately 2,500 judges nationally in the RF commercial court system. The chairman or Chief Justice of the SCC is Veniamin Fyodorovich Yakovlev, a former Minister of Justice of the USSR. The Russian-American Judicial Partnership (RAJP) is a program of partnership between the National Judicial College, a national judicial training institution located in Reno, Nevada, and the Russian judiciary. The Russian judicial partners include the SCC.

Proposed Event: If Chief Justice Yakovlev were available, an event could be held in his office that would be attended by judges of his court, including women judges, who have received training through RAJP and other USAID-funded programs. The event could also be attended by practicing Russian attorneys who had participated as both trainers and audience at continuing legal education (CLE) events organized by the American Bar Association (ABA-CEELI) in Russia. The SCC is located at Malyi Khariton'evskiy pereulok, dom 12, in the general neighborhood of Turgenevskaya Metro.

Alternative Proposed Event: If the facilities were available and an agreement were reached, the Dean of Moscow State University Law School could host an event on his campus highlighting the importance of legal education. The event could be attended by law students, and by practicing attorneys and judges who have participated in training programs funded by USAID through ABA-CEELI and through the Russian-American Judicial Partnership (see description above). The Dean has been a lecturer for ABA-CEELI CLE programs in the past (see above). Moscow State University Law School is on the main campus of the University in the Sparrow Hills region of Moscow.

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POSSIBLE POTUS DROP-IN VISIT

1. Andrei Sakharov Museum and Center During the last three years, with support from USAID, the Center has strengthened its role as a support center and clearinghouse for human rights NGOs throughout Russia. Dozens of conferences and training seminars have been held at the Center with the participation of Russian NGOs working in such areas as the mass media; Russian psychiatry and human rights; prison reform; the life of Andrei Sakharov; the aftermath of the Chechen war; the status of refugees; and relations between the Russian Federation and other former republics of the USSR. Each year, thousands of people visit the museum and center to conduct research, view exhibits and attend seminars. The library collection of Russian and foreign language materials has grown to several thousand books and numerous periodicals.

Proposed event: A walk-through of library facilities and exhibition areas.

2. Internews Russia: there are several possibilities, depending upon time available. Internews facilities are modest (small and even somewhat cramped) so size of the POTUS entourage is a big issue. If small, they could have a fascinating walkthrough of the editing and broadcasting areas. If size cannot be kept down, several options exist for a larger group.

Proposed events:

(1) Observe/ participate in broadcast courses in Internews's main seminar room:

We can arrange Clinton's visit to coincide with an Internews teaching seminar or a class of the Pozner School of Broadcast Journalism. Perhaps Clinton would enjoy either observing participating in a practice talk show forum with Pozner (and/or his best student) serving as the moderator and inviting questions from promising regional television students. This practice session could be video taped and made available as a news item for the major networks.

Clinton's participation in a video-taped teaching seminar would (a) show vividly what Internews regularly does as it conducts its primary (training) mission; (b) help teach a number of probably very excited regional TV journalists how to conduct an interview or discussion with a very high ranking official; (c) provide a nicely telegenic moment for news coverage by the major Russian and/or U.S. television networks; and (d) the taped training video could also be used in the future for Internews training seminars.

(2) Internews also has a room set up to conduct video conferences, so a "television bridge" or video conference could be conducted with another interesting site -- say -- a successful regional independent television station(s).

(3) Clinton could visit Internews' editing rooms and observe the editing of programs in progress or view selected fragments of such shows as "The Fourth Estate", "The Anatomy of Feelings," or other Open Skies programming. Better still, he could provide an interview for showing on one of these shows, e.g., an interview on media coverage of the President for "Fourth Estate."

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(4) News Conference and/or Dinner/Lunch Event: Internews is located in the Union of Journalists House of Journalists, which has (a) a sizable conference hall that could handle an audience of several hundred journalists or other guests and (b) a fairly nice restaurant -- most famous for its pelmeny.

cleared:

Mark Ward, AID _____ Date _____

Ed Salazar, POL _____ Date: _____

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Nicole Rabner to Christy Macy, re: Brain Awareness Week Speech (2 pages)	3/10/1998	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting (Christine Macy)
OA/Box Number: 17203

FOLDER TITLE:

The Brain: Early Childhood Development

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr695

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

COPY

March 10, 1998

MEMORANDUM

TO: Christy Macy
FROM: Nicole Rabner
RE: Brain Awareness Week Speech

I thought I would put my thoughts on paper for you about Mrs. Clinton's 3/18/98 speech, in which she will receive the Decade of the Brain Award from the Society for Neuroscience (a professional association of neuroscientists). The First Lady will receive the award at a Capitol Hill reception for Brain Awareness Week, a week of events designed to highlight the importance of neuroscience which is sponsored (and founded) by the Dana Alliance (another, arguably more exclusive neuroscientific association), in conjunction with other organizations, including the Society for Neuroscience.

By way of background for the speech, I think it would be useful for you to read two past remarks of the First Lady: (1) the speech to the Society for Research in Child Development in February or March of 1997, and (2) the speeches she and the President gave at the White House Conference on Early Childhood Development and Learning on April 17, 1997.

Here are my thoughts on key points for her speech:

- (1) Recognize the importance of the work of neuroscientists and the acknowledge the progress that has been made in the field. In particular, stress the contribution that neuroscience has made to helping us to understand and focus on early childhood development. Laud the maturation of the field of neuroscience and highlight the important implications that these findings have had for policy development in the field of early childhood.
- (2) Stress that what we now know has more than implications for policy implementation, but also points to so many more questions to be answered. In particular, note that in the coming years -- because of the research that is being done today (specifically, a brain-mapping procedure called functional magnetic resonance imaging) by many affiliated with these groups -- we should be able to learn about and better diagnose and treat learning disorder -- to understand why it is that some children have a hard time reading and learning. These insights to come will have profound implications for our ability to treat these learning disorders. [When I spoke with HRC about this speech, she said she wanted to stress that if we are going to "fulfill the promise" of what we know now about early brain development, we must continue to explore and invest.]
- (3) Highlight the President's commitment to greater investment in research (see attached). There is great excitement in the field for this commitment -- this is an important way to talk about the great excitement for future things to come. We can talk about it in terms of "Gifts to the Future" and the millenium, as the POTUS did in the SOTU.

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- (4) Highlight some of our investments (see POTUS WH Conference speech, 4/17/97) and the child care initiative -- particularly the investment in early learning in the child care initiative -- as ways in which public policy is being shaped by the research that the scientific community is doing.

You may also consider alluding to HRC's history on this issue -- at Yale, she studied at the Yale Child Study Center, and has talked about how much more we know today than when she was there almost 20 years ago. Of course, we'll also want to say nice things about Brain Awareness Week, the Dana Alliance, the Society for Neuroscience, and the Decade of the Brain.

Dr. Duane Alexander from the NIH prepared the attached paper on current NIH research -- it's very detailed, but will give you a sense of the research now underway.

COPY

Portugal - Frontiers preserved line

Gandhi pg 5 - Why NGOs are good
6 - Slave poem

Uman Conf - Beging sp
We have ended the
Cold War, but we have
not broken borders

What are states and
states act & in EE

US program ?

COPY

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notes	Portugal (5 pages)	n.d.	P5
002. notes	Women (2 pages)	n.d.	P5
003 003. memo	Melanne Verveer to Tony Blinken, re: President's Remarks in Poland and Romania (1 page)	7/2/1997	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Eric Massey (Misc. Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 17216

FOLDER TITLE:

Vital Voices [2]

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr808

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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HALL mty.

Venus - over and

Venus

story →

Believe that we are not trapped

2 yrs. after Beijing

A lot of progress - understanding of
Beijing. Asia / S.A. / Africa examples.
Minds of peopleNew art just & issue + new's
issues as a way of highlighting new rights
& democracy.External legal obstacles
Practices of religion. } Roadblocks
How & feel art themselves.
How do we overcome obstacles

Squeezing between & the painting democracy.

B. Mary Beijing / Prague / Uganda / Australia
& is democracy.Potential real life

&

Civil Society approach to the structure of democracy
of her values + institutions.

< 4 + civil society >

Voices we have heard: & F.M. of Bulgaria
Sessions in Romania, Slovakia, Czech Rep., Estonia, Latvia

COPY

Reprise & regularly to comm. aftermath.
Remains → & ~~death~~ of children w/ AIDS / + Reproductive
choices / Nurses being trained.

Hygiene - Gypsy story

Slovakia - NGOs expanding role of civ. society.

Poland - Different political beliefs among &.

Breast cancer.

Estonia → civic education between Russians + Estonians

Bosnia - Doctors & + teachers.

Russia - Call in show

Russian & : "We're educated and have no jobs
+ respect" Call in show. Society is NOT spring up

Ukraine?

Nursing educators

Balkans - nuclear disaster.

Heard the voices + can still hear them.

Economic

Put speeds together.

Beijing → Today w/
& are getting up and going to work
Beijing - telling fields nursing curricula

Voices of silence - Gandhi's speech.
Utter voices + voices not heard.

* What are voices for? *

Quest for Beijing

Explain what
POTUS has
done.

1st 4 yrs → Goals 2000
1st 1/2 of story.

Education reform has
influenced what he did as President.
Local vs. Federal movement.

World Bank - grant states a help.
education makes in development.
Girls education

POTUS education

accolades
why what we're doing
pre-school + early education.

Public schools
commission

linked to what

Pieces → of what we have

all ed + how links
together

Stay in message w/ POTUS
children's museum.

< Local context > Don't capture

→ Why we make the decisions we make?

COPY

Portugal -

Ford - Am. Foundation Report →

Day-care centers.

Colum I - Spain. History NATO.

II - Vital Voices comm.

III →

Early childhood → Portugal

Take it Takes a U. → Child Care Sector

COPY

One Freed wdy.

Sara Miske →

Official - B.t. + Arabim

Goal: enable central + E. for ♀ to have will to be inspired. Create ideas for dev. bldg., small biz, legal structures → what you do.

Manifestation of what we believe - ♀ in dev.

Projects: physics train physics etc.

This cannot be nostalgia for comm. or project or mid 80s version

Cable Engineers don't like to be lectured to. Pres. Mrs

★ Democracy is with the struggle of

Pres. of Nat bank in Poland is a ♀. / Bologna for min. Fight your way. No quarter.

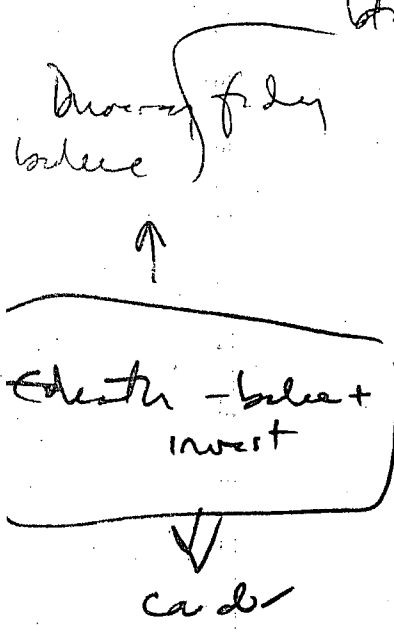
Alliance of values → positive.

Latin multiplex + joint play to acceptants civil society is a free agent link of more

Thomas Shant → message. Balance of me + mine. Same + invest.

Let me tell you the story of ♀ in U.S. What have we learned for you?

↓ History section
Prime school
Technology



Role of ♀ spread → self-deprecating periods of transition of civil

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

July 2, 1997

To: Tony Blinken
Vinca Lafleur

From: Melanne Vermeer

Re: President's Remarks in Poland and Romania

A year ago this week the First Lady visited Romania and Poland. In her messages there she stressed the importance of women's participation in all aspects of life in the new democracies and the importance of building the civil society. Hopefully, the President can mention the First Lady's visits and that she would have loved to return with him. However, at the same time he will be in Poland and Romania, she will be in Vienna participating in a conference for Eastern and Central European women called "Vital Voices in Building the New Democracies." Women from Poland and Romania will be participating in the conference. Participation in the conference is another example of how these countries are working to sustain and deepen their democratic transformation.

Also, Mrs. Clinton will be announcing a new aid initiative (specifics attached). The President might want to add something like: "I have also asked the First Lady to announce at the Conference that the US government will provide an additional \$3 million to support women's participation in democracy building in this region. And we are working to ensure that women have greater access to the whole range of democracy programs we are supporting."

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Michael O'Mary to Nicole Rabner, re: ECDC Report (1 page)	9/9/1997	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Michael O'Mary (Misc. Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 10841

FOLDER TITLE:

ECDC [Early Childhood Development Conference] Final Report

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr700

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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MEMORANDUM FOR NICOLE RABNER

From: Michael O'Mary
Date: Sept. 9, 1997
Re: ECDC Report

"How are the Children", the report of the White House Conference on Early Childhood Development, does little to underline the important role of the President and First Lady in bringing the conference together. It attempts to share the knowledge presented at the conference without sufficient regards to its source. In order to alleviate this problem, I would suggest the following revisions be made:

- A letter of introduction by the President should be added to the beginning of the text. This letter should underline the important nature of disseminating information about early childhood development. Furthermore, the President should thank the First Lady for her central role in planning and implementing the conference. (No more than one page, preferably not more than 3 paragraphs.)

*Lifted Up
Lifelong
Education
Have us/
More
America*

- A forward, written by Mrs. Clinton, should come after the letter of introduction by the President. In this forward, the First Lady can underscore her lifelong commitment to these issues and subtly mention the role that she played in bringing this conference together. Furthermore, she can mention the important role that the President has played in children's issues and underscore the achievements of the administration in this area.

*whole life
since coming
to WH
Power of
Brain*

18

*Story about science
- Society for
Research
and
Child
Development*

Each section and subsection of the report should have a quote by the President, First Lady or some other participant in the conference. (Where this quote is placed, whether at the beginning, or as a pull quote within the text can be determined later.) What the report currently lacks is an acknowledgment that the information being presented is the result of a conference and not simply a large research effort. By bringing in the words of the participants, the link between the conference and the information presented can be better established.

*- Basics
of Conference
- Princeton
- challenges
ahead*

Finally, I would suggest publication of this report in an enticing format. Rather than simply publishing the text, pictures of the conference should be included, especially those featuring the President and First Lady front and center. A magazine type approach would really be effective and would really highlight the role of the White House in putting the conference together.

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10 Things You Can Do With Your Children

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	WH Conference on Early Childhood Development & Learning - Panel Participants [partial] (8 pages)	3/28/1997	P6/b(6)
002. memo	Nicloe Rabner et al. to Hillary Clinton (4 pages)	3/29/1997	P5
003. list	WH Conference on Early Childhood Development & Learning - Panel Participants [partial] (12 pages)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
004. list	WH Conference on Early Childhood Development & Learning - Panel Participants [partial] (6 pages)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 First Lady's Office
 Domestic Policy Council (Nicole Rabner: Early Childhood Development Conference Background)
 OA/Box Number: 14383

FOLDER TITLE:

[WH Conference on Early Childhood Development and Learning, April 17, 1997] [1]

Whitney Ross
 2006-0198-F
 wr723

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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March 29, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FROM: Nicole Rabner
Pauline Abernathy

CC: Melanne Verveer
Ellen Lovell
Elena Kagan

RE: White House Conference on Early Childhood Development and Learning:
What New Research on the Brain Tells Us About Our Youngest Children

Attached please find two binders for your review, to give you a sense of the status of the preparations for the White House Conference on Early Childhood Development and Learning: What New Research on the Brain Tells Us About Our Youngest Children.

One binder focuses on the Conference itself and other on the policy development process.

Conference Preparations

There has been an overwhelming amount of interest in this Conference, with letters and materials forwarded from all over the country. Our aim is to involve as many people as possible in the satellite conferences that are being planned, as invitations to the White House event will be constrained by space limitations. In developing the audience and participant lists, we have continued to consult widely, with David Hamburg, Lucy Hackney and Melissa Ludke being particularly helpful with assessments.

Audience for Conference

Last week, we extended the first group of formal invitations to the Conference, to approximately 100 leaders of a variety of sectors of society that bear on early childhood development, from the academic and research communities to the corporate sector, from the foundation community to advocates and association leaders. We aimed for diversity of race and gender. Upon the advice of White House Inter-Governmental Affairs and the National Governors' Association, we have invited the six members of the NGA Task Force on Young Children, and extended an invitation for the two chairs of the task force (Voinovich and Miller) to participate with tbd speaking roles.

Included in the attached binder on the Conference are two lists, one list of those we have already

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invited, and another of those whom we considered and hope to involve either in the satellite conference in Room 450 OEOP or elsewhere around the country.

Please note that we are able to extend a limited number of additional invitations. Since we can accommodate approximately 130 people in the State Dining Room for lunch, that is the number we aim to involve in the Conference. 105 invitations have been extended, and we are reserving approximately 10-15 additional spaces for members of Congress, as well as some for parents of young children to participate in the discussion section.

Please review the lists and advise if there are additional people you would like to include.

Conference Agenda

The Agenda remains as we had discussed before your trip: opening remarks by you and the President, a first session focusing on an examination of current research on the brain and its applications for parents and caregivers, a working luncheon, and an afternoon session exploring model efforts of all sectors of society to support parents and enhance early childhood development.

Session One: Examination of Current Research

We have been working closely with the six experts who we have confirmed will make up this session. Their challenge is to provide a succinct overview of current research on the brain and its applications for direct services for children and parents, and to respond to questions and concerns of parents about children's earliest development. David Hamburg, who as you know has agreed to moderate this session, and Nicole have been speaking by conference call with the participants to develop the presentations. The session will begin with Dr. Hamburg providing a brief overview. Dr. Donald Cohen, Director of the Yale Child Study Center, will initiate the review of research with a discussion of what we know about the developing child and his/her behavioral and social growth from birth through infancy. Dr. Carla Shatz, a foremost neuroscientist from University of California at Berkeley, will turn the discussion to what is happening with brain development, i.e. take us behind the behavior to what is happening with the wiring and the development of the brain. Dr. Patricia Kuhl, a cognitive development expert who focuses on language development in infants, will provide an example of that wiring at work with an overview of how the infants learn language.

Dr. Hamburg will then turn the discussion to a broad examination of how this research is used by those who directly serve our youngest children and their parents -- an obstetrician (Dr. Ezra Davidson, a renowned African-American doctor from Los Angeles) will speak about the significance of pre-natal care; a pediatrician (Dr. Brazelton) will comment on the way pediatrics has benefited from the research and the responsibility of pediatricians to impart guidance on the emotional, social and cognitive developmental of children to parents; and, lastly, a child care expert (Dr. Deborah Phillips from the Institute of Medicine) will speak about how child care providers need to be guided by the research findings.

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Finally, we hope you will moderate the discussion session that will follow, by posing questions to the experts that represent the "top concerns" of parents. As you know, Zero to Three is presently conducting a poll with parents to gauge what questions they would want to ask the leading experts: these questions will frame our discussion. We hope also to have some parents in the audience who can pose some of these questions themselves.

Session 2: Applying the Knowledge.

Recommended Participants. We envision the afternoon session as a round table discussion exploring model community efforts to support parents and enhance early childhood development. Attached is a list of the people we recommend be on the stage with you for this discussion and the rationale for our recommendation. We have invited each of these people but we have deliberately not yet confirmed their participation in the round table discussion so we could get your input. Our goal was to make sure they could discuss issues of child care, home visiting, effective parenting, health care, and safety, as well as community involvement.

We have tried to keep this group small so that the discussion can be more informal and meaningful and to provide time to engage the audience. For instance, we envision that during the discussion of child care, the President or you might ask the Navy Rear Admiral who oversees the Navy's child care and parenting programs to stand, either to acknowledge DoD's model programs or to ask for his comment on the discussion.

We thought the governors would fit best into the discussion as respondents, called on to respond to what has been said and discuss how state policies can support these community efforts. Additional information on the people we are recommending for the discussion is included in binder.

Much to our surprise, we have had difficulty finding the perfect person from the faith community to participate in the round table discussion. Flo is now exploring the possibility of a nun who founded a crisis nursery in Cleveland, another nun in St. Louis who works with infants and toddlers through Catholic Charities, and another woman in St. Louis who is part of immunization and well-baby programs for the Archbishop's Commission on Health. We will explore these possibilities further but our current inclination is to include the faith community in the audience, but not on the round table. However, we might then want to ask Regina Battle who runs a model Early Head Start program in Jackson, MS to take Dwayne Crompton's place so that there would be at least three women among the 7 discussants, not including the President, you or the two male governors.

Policy Announcements.

As you know, we had initially discussed that there would be a third session for policy and other announcements. However, after consulting with White House staff such as Ann Lewis and John Podesta, we now recommend that announcements be made in the context of the second round table discussion. Because of the President's physical therapy, we will be starting the conference later in the day and do not want the conference to go so late that reporters will not have time to

COPY

file their stories. In addition, it may make the second session more interesting if the President and you respond to the discussion with policy announcements. We would give reporters background material in advance, perhaps in the morning or embargoed the day before the Conference, so that they would know what to look for and have the information they need to write their stories.

We are currently reviewing the attached binder of agency responses to the President's memorandum asking what agencies are doing or could do to enhance early childhood development. We are aggressively exploring options on child care. We also expect to be able to announce the following items at or around the conference:

- **Consumer Product Safety Commission "recall roundup."** The Consumer Product Safety Commission is doing its first-ever nationwide "recall roundup" of previously recalled products on April 16. The Commission will highlight the products responsible for the most deaths of infants and young children, such as old cribs, bean bags, and hammocks. There will be local events in most states and the story is expected to dominate the local news. Ann Brown has invited your participation in the launch.
- **America Reads Parenting Kits.** We plan to release some terrific kits for parents of children 0-5 that Education, HHS, and the Corporation for National Service have put together. The kits include activities for parents and caregivers, a calendar and a growth chart with suggested activities.
- **Executive order requiring agencies to consider children's health.** The EPA has proposed a presidential executive order on children's health and the environment which is in the works.
- **Prescription for Reading.** If all goes as planned, we hope to announce the national effort during the week of the conference, and to highlight it at the conference during the second session, which includes Dr. Zuckerman.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. article	Earlier Work With Children Steers Them From Crime - NYT (1 page)	3/15/1999	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Domestic Policy Council (Nicole Rabner: Policy Development)
OA/Box Number: 15416

FOLDER TITLE:

Early Childhood Development Studies

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr725

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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Earlier Work With Children Steers Them From Crime

By JANE E. BRODY

Programs that seek to reduce violence, drug abuse, pregnancy and other dangerous or unhealthy activities among adolescents are notorious for doing too little too late and at too great a cost.

But a new study has shown that by starting early — in grades one through six — to foster an interest in school and learning among children and to enhance their self-esteem, many of these risky behaviors can be averted and school performance and attendance can be improved through high school.

At the same time, an independent analysis of the study showed, communities can save money over and above the cost of such a preventive effort.

The findings of this 12-year study, published today in the journal Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine, showed that coaching teachers and parents on how best to encourage young children's involvement and interest in school and teaching children how to interact socially can have a significant long-term effect on their behavior and academic achievement.

The study involved schools with students from Seattle's most crime-ridden neighborhoods. Some of the schools got the intervention program designed for the study and the other comparable schools did not.

Compared to students who did not receive the elementary school intervention program, by age 18, those who did were 19 percent less likely to have committed violent acts, 38 percent less likely to indulge in heavy drinking, 13 percent less likely to engage in sexual intercourse, 19 percent less likely to have had multiple sex partners and 35 percent less likely to have caused a pregnancy or to have become pregnant.

The effects on curbing sexual behavior and teen-age pregnancy were achieved "without ever using the 'S' word," said Dr. J. David Hawkins, the principal investigator and a professor of social work at the University of Washington. "It's amazing to see these outcomes," he said.

Students who attended the schools with intervention programs also were more likely to stay in school and to achieve higher grades, although there was no significant impact on their experimentation with drugs or cigarettes.

Jane Quinn, who studied youth pro-

grams at the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, praised the Seattle program as one of the very best she has reviewed. Ms. Quinn, who is now program director at the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund, said the study has three "remarkable features: One, the intervention is quite simple and straightforward, something that any community could adopt; two, it works with people who are already involved in the lives of children and recognizes young people as agents in their own development, and, three, it has powerful long-term results — a six-year follow-up is very unusual."

Dr. Roger Weissberg, professor of psychology at the University of Illinois at Chicago, called the Seattle work exemplary in its attention to social and emotional issues as well as academic performance.

The study involved three efforts: with teachers in each of the six grades, with parents and with the students. During five days of in-service training, teachers were taught how to foster cooperative learning among students so that each child is rewarded for having contributed to the achievements of the group.

Dr. Hawkins explained that the underlying goal was to help children "develop a commitment to school, to value education and to become emotionally attached to their school, teachers and peers."

"This in turn can give them the motivation to live in a positive, responsible way," Dr. Hawkins said.

Parenting programs were offered to the parents of every student in the experimental classrooms. Over all, 43 percent of these parents participated. Parents were encouraged to reinforce desirable behavior and to provide consistent discipline. They were also shown how to help their children succeed academically.

As for the children themselves, their guidance started in school in the first grade with learning how to solve interpersonal problems, take turns and talk positively to themselves. In sixth grade the students were offered four one-hour training sessions in refusal skills — how to say "No" and still keep their friends.

The full cost of the program over the six years of intervention was calculated at nearly \$3,000 a child. However, Dr. Hawkins noted that if such a program were adopted in a school system, the actual ongoing costs would be lower because teacher training would not be repeated annually.

But even at the full cost of the program, the Washington State Institute for Public Policy demonstrated that the intervention would be cost-effective if all that it achieved was a reduction in crime. The institute calculated a taxpayer savings of 21 percent just from the reduction in the number of felonies committed.

file early childhood report

Blued

can be used to advance any of our initiatives

BZ

Copy
Read
Podesta

Nicole-

can you talk with
Tom, Cynthia, and the
the ed. people (Tanya/
John) and do up
something for the
weekly?

Elmer

COPY

The New York Times

MONDAY, MARCH 15, 1999

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Speech - Maquehue Health Clinic Roundtable: Temuco, Chile (4 pages)	4/18/1998	P5
002. draft	Speech - Maquehue Health Clinic Roundtable: Temuco, Chile (2 pages)	4/18/1998	P5
COLLECTION: Clinton Presidential Records First Lady's Office Speechwriting (Christine Macy) OA/Box Number: 17206			
FOLDER TITLE: Chile '98/HRC Speeches Uruguay: Civil Society/Democracy		Whitney Ross 2006-0198-F wr807	
RESTRICTION CODES Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)] P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA] P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA] P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA] P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA] P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA] P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA] C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift. PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3). RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.		Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)] b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA] b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA] b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA] b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA] b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA] b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA] b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA] b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]	

COPY

beautiful simple
room / chairs
wood floors

simple green
blue windows

clinic / end of day
Read / simple - very clean

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MAQUEHUE HEALTH CLINIC ROUNDTABLE
TEMUCO, CHILE
APRIL 18, 1998

dance -
w/ grass and
alm lead
amarach -
like birds
flying +
sweeping
the air

make
visi red, yellow
green rubber
hose

food
barbecue
blue
sick

more
more
hills

Thank you, Don Pancho, for that kind introduction. I'm so pleased to have had the chance to come here to tour this wonderful clinic, to meet you and Dr. Solar and Janet Dolder de Mena and the children, and to see what you've accomplished together. I also greatly enjoyed the dancing and the musicians, and the Machi's drums. I now understand, a little better, the enormous spirit and energy and caring that has helped make this clinic the success that it is.

I spoke about coming to this clinic in my remarks to the Pan American Health Organization conference in Santiago a few days ago, because I believed what you are doing at this clinic is a model that we can all learn from. And now that I've toured this facility, I've seen this medical partnership that you've created first hand, and how it's benefitted the health and well being of the Mapuche people.

HRC
people that
care about
people -
different
centers of
health -
sickness -
we are
being new
important
to be
respect
each other
+ our opinion
to help people
stay healthy

I have just come from a Mapuche cultural center not far from here, and I was introduced to the beautiful and powerful culture of the Mapuche people. I've learned that the Mapuche have a rich tradition of song and dance, and a deep connection to the streams and mountains and natural beauty that surrounds you. That women have always been strong leaders and healers among you. And that for centuries, you have pulled together your resources and drawn on your strong family tradition to improve the lives of your people, and to serve your community.

That proud history and dynamic culture are reflected here today, as you face another kind of challenge. Now, you are serving your community by creating successful health clinics like this one, providing better education for your children, and greater opportunities for women and families to become economically self sufficient.

that's why
interest
need +
respect you
show =
feel part of
family -
decide +
run as
learn for
much what
works -

The key to your success, I believe, is that you are working as partners -- and respecting each other's differences. We see here a partnership that brings together the Chilean government's health clinic system, that has made such progress in reaching out to communities over the past few years; your Mapuche leaders, and particularly your healers, who hold centuries worth of knowledge about herbal and other traditional healing practices; and PAHO -- which has played such an extraordinary role in improving health conditions and services in communities like this throughout the hemisphere.

HRC
much we
can learn
from each
other -
to learn more
about what
people +
children do
more more
successful -
congratulate
thank you -

HRC
more
authorities
close to
Mapuche -
between
I shall
mean it

national level
different concept about
health + sickness -
how you live in community
+ how to understand equity -
that's why he came
1982 - but set back
stand.0

infant
high mortality -
Chilean 14.3
Mapuche - 36.6
- felt Indian had a
lot of infection that
prevent them from
out - some regions
some no Mapuche
resistance: why
were much

Thank Machi
for seeing dance
much more
In US
we are
learning so
much from you
already
more
dynamically
involved

COPY

- And as a result of all of this partnership, progress is clearly being made. Hospitals now include a Mapuche cultural space inside the facility, where an intercultural facilitator works with other health workers; information on diseases is being better shared; health workers are being trained in rural communities, and teams of doctors are now going out into remote areas.
- I'm convinced that many of the ideas and practices that you are carrying out here at this clinic could be equally applied -- with the same benefits -- in our Native American communities in the United States.
- Today, as we discuss the challenges that you continue to face here in Temuco, the leaders of this hemisphere are meeting in Santiago at the Second Summit of the Americas. They are reviewing major initiatives to reduce poverty and combat discrimination. They are committing the governments of the Americas to take the lead in expanding access and improving the quality of education and of health. They recognize that enhancing human development is crucial to sustaining economic development and trade -- and vital to strengthening democracy around the hemisphere. And they understand that in order to wipe out poverty, and open up opportunities for progress, that there must be a renewed focus on health.
- The Summit's Plan of Action calls for governments, among other things, to develop public and private partnerships to ensure greater access to drugs and vaccines, particularly in communities in need like this one, as well as support for regional initiatives in research to reduce the spread of disease. The potential for health technologies in the 21st Century -- whether it's telemedicine or sharing research on the Internet -- must be realized here, at this level of primary care, not solely at the most sophisticated levels of the health system.
- I wish the Summit leaders could be here today, to see how important these commitments would be to communities such as this one.
- Before we begin our discussion here today, I want to urge you to continue your valuable work here at the clinic. Because this spirit of cooperation that I see here today, and your commitment to draw on and respect the strengths of every partner, is not only the key to better health services -- and a better life -- for the Mapuche community. It's the foundation for a stronger, more democratic society here in Chile, and across the Americas.
- I look forward to our discussion now, and hearing from you what has worked, what the challenges are, and how -- even when it is difficult -- you have continued to learn from each other. Because surely those are the lessons we all must learn if we are going to meet the challenges ahead.

COPY

Dad's
 I feel adjoined
 I married requests
 Rainer - bed conditions
 Hospital - 6-10
 Paul - letter to Ceryms -
 In hospital
 distors, sad but
 always happy.

keep well cultured
person -

medical nurse community
 what did you want?
 are developed -

Here spaces - culture requests
 relationship between med + research
 patients + families -
 Inspiring to men - in Chile - abt of
 different culture - abt of
 groups promote prevention / care -
 have abt of research - development of
 health - abt of date now -
 they know how - rectal -

— nurse (missionary)

Arrived - lives in Sector - came here for
 heart surgery - I knew everything -
 I would like to see how we
 work inside - some inter cultural peop
 work - orientation + communication -
 - we work very closely w/ service
 visit patients - / talk in a language -
 → healing / relief to the people
 have difficulties but go on -
 we are like a new person with cysts
 develop slowly - concepts clear
 measure - health / treatment -
 we see difference - a way they
 feel better - good future

— Dolde (Director)

Are going to be part of the staff
 we all obtain special result -
 family feeling - patients - family problems -
 just a doctor - have families here
 this - (Ceryms) -
 take them - some + some times

COPY

- bear
 herbs
 medicine
 cream for
 dressing
 massage
 all kinds
 went -
 bear them to
 read -
 TB patient
 7 months -
 as they been
 well - need
 alcohol -
 don't smoke
 better look -
 1 - 2 - 3

Mapuche Crocker - HRC
give welcome - feel at home.

Came → hospital - as farmer -
then wanted to give good health.

wanted traditional + modern medicine
wanted to study + learn

I made hospital - met people who
will to work

for that - can hospital a very great
hospital - happy because people -

another woman - patient -

she's very grateful to hospital
receives good attention -

Chase to them - I have my life -

any time I come - I get attention -

I think hospital need help, medicine -
grateful, hospital is near -
for children, adults, women -

HRC - She

machu - witch doctor -

(colorful dress - hair ornament)

She was a healer
a the machu / healer -

tried at hospital - I trust it -

I also help in treatment of patient
give messages -

I do what I can - when I need help.

hospital people help -

that is why I come here -

difficult to come - but I'm

grateful - hope hospital continues

HRC / Children's activities -

different to any hospital in world
people will thrive - I learned that

people leave healthy - some to

Cancer - former patient -

mother - some children -

this hospital children - I'm glad to see

give love to
their patients

COPY

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TALKING POINTS
MAPUCHE CULTURAL CENTER/STUDENT RESIDENCE
TEMUCO, CHILE
APRIL 18, 1998

- I'm so pleased to be here in Temuco, and to have the pleasure of seeing this Mapuche Cultural Center and Student Residence. Thank you to Don Eusebio, Quentin Harris, and "Dona Agustina" for giving me the tour. I'm very proud that the Peace Corps has been involved in helping to build and expand a center that has had such a positive impact on this community.
- I also want to thank the students who just sang the Chilean national anthem in their Mapuche language, and performed the "Mazatum Purun" dance. I particularly loved the poem about your Mapuche hero, Lautaro. We have a number of brave heroes like him in our American history as well.
- I have been looking forward to this trip, because all of us today will have an opportunity to see projects and programs that are working effectively to improve the lives of the people. And here in Temuco we will also see a reflection of what the heads of state are now discussing back in Santiago. At the Second Summit of the Americas, our leaders are talking about how to implement a second generation of reforms that will have a direct impact on your lives here and on the lives of everyone who lives in the Americas.
- In making those new commitments to strengthen democracy, and to open up the circles of opportunity for our citizens, our leaders are asking how they can be sure that you -- the people of Temuco -- have access to a fair and equitable system of justice; they are asking how to better strengthen local government, and how to encourage the kinds of partnerships between government and local organizations and communities that we see so clearly have been made here at the Cultural Center.

These kinds of commitments -- to education, to free trade, to economic growth -- are made in cities like Washington, D.C., or Santiago, but they are fulfilled here, in communities like Temuco; where citizens elect mayors, and determine priorities, and make sure government delivers services that respond to their needs.

I'm glad that our first stop of this day is at a place that honors education, and treasures tradition. By giving these young students the opportunity to board here, and go to good schools, you are reflecting a deeply held belief that education is the key to progress and prosperity for this Mapuche community. And here again, the leaders of the Summit have made education their highest priority -- the single most important investment a country can make to improve the lives of its people, and secure a better future for their children..

It represents what teachers do in Chile.

Education Chile + preserve culture

to make the world real

the center of the world here people come together

what goes on here actually put it in a day two

see how people helping the school today - important needs what can we do to improve people's lives

how to protect democracy how to create a justice system how to protect the environment how to protect the people's health

how to protect rights of indigenous people Valdivia language + music all people - been with talk

COPY

- This cultural center underscores another value that we all hold in common. Treating each other with respect, and celebrating each unique contribution to the community, are the foundations of a caring and just society. By educating these young people in the traditions, history and culture of the Mapuche, you are saying to them: we must preserve the heritage that has sustained and inspired us through so many difficult times, and which so enriches our lives today. By making sure they get the best possible education, you are saying: we care about the future of the next generation.

- This cultural center highlights a central theme that we will see throughout our visit to Temuco today, and that's the power of public/private partnership. You've already heard about how the Peace Corps has worked with the Mapuche leaders and volunteers to help build and expand this center. But there are other partners as well. The materials for this project were paid for by USAID; an American foundation (the Chase-Manhattan Foundation); and two Chilean foundations. The land we are standing on was donated by the municipality of Temuco. Everyone had a stake in making this Center a success, and in strengthening the values that it stands for. And everyone has played a role.

- When we leave here today, we will be visiting a health clinic, where the Mapuche healers and the clinic's doctors are sharing information and practices, and learning from each other. And later on, we will meet with a group of women entrepreneurs, whose lives have been transformed by getting access to microcredit, and starting their own businesses. So as we've seen here, we will see how other communities are working together, boosting education and training, and expanding opportunities, in order to create better lives for the people of this region.

- We are truly grateful for this introduction to Temuco, and for the opportunity to experience the rich cultural and spiritual heritage of the Mapuche people. Whether it's here at the school, or throughout this community, you are opening up new windows of opportunity for your people to make progress. You are passing down traditions and values that were honored by your parents and grandparents. And you are contributing to the kind of society that we need to ensure strong democracies in the future. These are the same challenges we are all grappling with -- here in Chile, and throughout the hemisphere. So let's continue to work and learn together.

to help
improve
health care

The sweater I was given -

while
leader took
the red
wed g
improves
people
live
better
for a
little bit
temuco
at
city
and
nails

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Brenda to Maggie, re: Satellite Interview Briefing (1 page)	9/10/1995	P5
001b. paper	AOL Women's Vote Polling (4 pages)	9/8/1995	P5
001c. fax	Center for Policy Alternatives Polling (20 pages)	9/8/1995	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer (Beijing & Trafficking)
OA/Box Number: 20362

FOLDER TITLE:

Beijing - Publications

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr804

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

To: Maggie
Fr: Brenda
Re: Satellite interview briefing
Dt: 9/10/95

Attached is a draft of the briefing for the satellite feeds on Tuesday (9/12). After numerous calls around, I was still unable to identify any polls/surveys done on what American women think about the Women's Conference in Beijing.

America Online conducted a survey (albeit unscientific) asking if HRC should attend the Women's Conference in China. Survey results first appeared, with comments, on August 21st. Also, the Center for Policy Alternatives conducted focus groups in conjunction with the Ms. Foundation's initiative "Beijing and Beyond, " as part of their series "Women's Voices." The focus groups did not ask the specific question of what women thought about the Women's Conference, but focused on what issues were most important to women. I was planning on including the Summary of Findings from the CPA focus groups in Mrs. Clinton's Briefing book. I've attached both for you to review.

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The results are in from the weekend survey and here is what you had to say.

Question: The relationship between Washington and Beijing has been strained recently due to political differences over human rights activist Harry Wu and the private U.S. visit by Taiwanese President Lee Teng-Hui.

Taking this into consideration, should First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton attend the United Nation's Fourth World Conference on Women being held next month in China?

Results: Of the 5,354 responses, there did not seem to be a clear-cut consensus about the First Lady's visit to China next month.

On an extremely close vote, 47.57% of the respondents said Hillary Clinton should not attend the U.N. conference, while 46.94% of the respondents said the First Lady should make the trip. The remaining 5.49% had no opinion. What will Hillary and the Administration decide?

Results in detail:

2,547 responded NO (47.57%)

2,513 responded YES (46.94%)

294 responded NO OPINION (5.49%)

5,354 total responses

Remember, this is not a scientific survey. We're just trying to get a general sense of the AOL community's feelings on a variety of topics.

Thank you for all your comments on the survey and it's related issues. Here are what some of you had to say:

"Hillary should go!! The conference has nothing to do with the political stress between the USA and china. It's about a far more basic question... the humanity of women. If women were truly considered human by the patricarchal systems on this planet, there would not be a need for conferences where they can come together to discuss their status in the world."

"Considering China's treatment of women, I am appalled that anyone interested in women's rights would attend a conference in that country!! China aborts and kills babies just because they are female. China forces women to abort their children or to kill their already-born babies as a means of population

control."

"This is an United Nations conference not called by China. These are times of transition around the globe for every nation. The first lady should attend the conference as the leading country in the world which does try to practice -Right Human Relations in terms of the rights and responsibilities of women. Other countries need to see and hear from our first lady so their country may follow our nations lead in role women are working to achieve around the world."

"Definitely not Hillary Rodham Clinton. Someone should be chosen with traditional moral and family values, someone who could more accurately represent the more traditonal and honorable role of womanhood. Mrs. Clinton seems to be demeaning that role."

"Of course the First Lady should attend, representing this country side by side with First Ladies of other major countries, as well as with women heads of state from around the world. Her political bent, no matter what it is, has no bearing on the focus of this event and her attendance should have nothing to do with thje current game of cat-and-mouse being played between our country and the host's."

"Mrs. Clinton should not be held hostage to the opinion of people who want to use her as a propaganda symbol. She will be visible to the Chinese and others in attendance as an intelligent, successful spokesperson for what women can accomplish if they are freed of the restrictions imposed on them unfairly in many other cultures. Go Hillary!"

"How can the United States even CONSIDER supporting a conference to supposedly benefit women in a country such as China. No where on earth have women been more abused and oppressed! Female infants have been MURDERED for centuries! With the "one-child-per-family" law, the offenders are subject to forced abortion and sterilization. I find this abhorrent! Look at China's orphanages, 90% of the child there are ABANDONED baby girls!"

"I have no problem with Hillary going to China. I have a problem with her coming back."

"Mrs. Clinton can make a better contribution by participating at the Women's conference in Beijing, by taking a stand on several issues concerning women, and matters that can also enlighten men! By staying away from the conference because of political differences between the US and China, we will lose

another good opportunity to register our protest in a major forum, and fail to share and learn from the experiences and struggles of women from across the globe."

"How many people are afraid of conversation. To stonewall the conference is to turn our backs and refuse to talk--on the critical issues that plague the world. But Hillary is a talker (as well as a mother, wife, lawyer, sister, friend . . . not that ugly one-dimensional cartoon some see her as: an uppity woman), and one of intelligence and integrity as well. I can hardly wait to hear how she frames the issues and how directly she indicts the crimes against women and children (and humanity in general) China furthers."

"She has no authority - no mandate - and only her personal views which she seems to feel are, thus, the only views. Her role at the Conference would be token. She does not symbolize American women. Other than giving her a trip to China, what is accomplished by her going - except she will be distracted from meddling in US affairs about which she has no wisdom or knowledge."

"I think Mrs Clinton should follow her dictates and attend. Mr. Wu's mission over the years was to protest Chinese human right violations and to create encounters to embarrass the Chinese government. In this case he entered a remote region of China that is off limits to foreigners. As an American citizen he violated Chinese laws and risked punishment. The US should try to get him released, but not diminish the dialog between women around the world. Mrs. Clinton's presence will help in this objective."

"Who better to represent USA women? She is educated, married, mothered a child, and has a career and family. She is like 50% of all women in USA."

"Wake up America..... This really isn't a conference on women, it's a conference on gender-neutral, abortion, destruction of the family. Only someone who takes at face value the propaganda of the UN would believe otherwise. I firmly believe that most Americans make the right decision when given accurate information.....do your homework.

BTW,....The official U.N. document which will be promoted in Beijing was written by radical feminists. The chief writer was Bella Abzug. The same lady who avidly supported Stalin during her college days at Hunter College. Please.....this lady doesn't represent the views of MOST Americans, neither does Hillary Clinton !"

"I have attended two other UN World Conferences on Women. Let me reassure you that merely attending or hosting the conference does not mean that

participants or host country support or exemplify human rights or commit to the advancement of women. The dialogue between women, NGOs and governments that occur at these meetings is what is transforming. I will be in Beijing and hope to see the first lady there because like me, she cares about the status of women, girls and families in the US, China, and throughout the world. "

"The purpose of the Women's conference is to get people all over the world thinking about and discussing the issues relating to women. Hillary Clinton should be able to attend, since she has emerged as an important spokeswoman for women internationally. This important pedagogical function of the conference should not be obscured by current politics."



Dear Friends and Colleagues:

The Center for Policy Alternatives is very pleased to share a synopsis of the findings from our most current set of *Women's Voices* focus groups, funded as part of the Ms. Foundation's initiative "Beijing and Beyond." Understanding the most pressing concerns, the hopes of American women, across race, age, class and geographic lines, is critical to conveying the significance of the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women (4WCW) at home.

The *Women's Voices* focus groups, led by a bi-partisan, multi-cultural team, aimed to identify priorities which unite women across the United States. Building on the earlier phases of *Women's Voices* surveying, we concentrated on economic issues and did not investigate two aspects central to the United Nations platform -- human rights and reproductive rights. Despite these omissions, the findings are both extremely informative and relevant to 4WCW.

It may not surprise you to learn that while some women believe that they have a variety of issues in common with women internationally, the majority are skeptical. For example, in response to the question, "In September there will be an international conference of women. What issues do you think will be discussed there?" one pink/blue collar woman responded, "We are so different. All the women across the world, I don't think we even have much to talk about in common." *The fact is, however, that the most important concerns to American women virtually parallel the platform of the Fourth World Conference on Women.*

For example:

- ▶ A major tenet of the international platform is health care over the whole life span. Similarly, this issue was among the most frequently mentioned concerns of the women in our focus groups. While women have confidence that they can survive economic hardships, they are extremely worried about what will happen to them and their families if there is a major illness and they do not have sufficient health insurance.
- ▶ Like women around the world, American women struggle constantly to withstand the pressures related to time and money. In their eyes, the workplace is not yet a place of equality, not only in terms of pay and promotions, but in terms of personal respect. Nor is home, where they feel they carry the brunt of the burden.
- ▶ American women, like women abroad, contend that the only guarantee for economic well-being for families is women's ability to be economically independent. Independence is their most pressing hope for their daughters. This means access to education, which requires support from both the private and public sectors. Their interest in owning their own business is powerful -- particularly among younger women.

- Also like women abroad, American women are deeply troubled by the threat of violence, particularly as it relates to the safety of their children. Without addressing this issue, they believe, we cannot have strong families and healthy communities.
- Last but not least, most American women believe that things would be better if more women sat at the economic and political decision-making tables. This promotion of women in leadership positions is also a high agenda item in the 4WCW platform.

The challenge for us is to amplify back to our sisters in the United States that this conference abroad is about bringing commitments from the world community and our own country to address the issues most important at home. If we are successful, we will have made great inroads in helping women understand the importance of our participation in this conference and in building momentum for an agenda that will give visibility and energy toward addressing women's concerns and achieving their vision for our country through the 1996 election.

Lake Research

WOMEN'S VOICES '96

In 1992, the Center for Policy Alternatives and the Ms. Foundation presented *Women's Voices*, a groundbreaking report on American women's attitudes toward their economic lives. The research leading to this report, a series of focus groups and a national survey, was instrumental in shaping the political debate prior to the November 1992 elections. American women, said the study, had distinct economic experiences and strong concerns which crossed race, class, age and party lines. They were concerned with finding time for both their children and their jobs, with equal pay in the workplace, and with securing affordable and portable health care.

The last three years have seen significant political change, including Democratic control of the White House and Republican control of the Congress, as well as economic change, with an easing of the recessions of the 1980s, but little easing of the mood among voters. This year, the Center for Policy Alternatives, as part of the Ms. Foundation's Beijing and Beyond Initiative, has launched *Women's Voices '96*, a two-year bipartisan research project to revisit and update the themes and issues raised in the original study. This report outlines the findings of a bipartisan and multi-cultural research team, led by Lake Research, which conducted a new series of focus groups to lay the groundwork for a national opinion survey in 1996.¹

In all, seven focus groups have been conducted across the country, six among women of different ages, races, economic backgrounds and political perspectives, and one among white men to provide a counterpoint. *Women's Voices '96* paid particular attention to women's class and ethnic diversity, and looked in greater depth at younger women (ages 18-29).

¹ Many thanks to Raydean Acevedo, Vince Breglio and Linda Williams for their participation in the research and analysis summarized in this memorandum. Full methodological details are described in the appendix which follows.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

As in 1992, it is apparent that American women have powerful economic concerns to which they long to give voice:

- ▶ **The Economy:** Today, economic insecurity coexists with the reality of more economic independence. As in *Women's Voices '92*, women continue to describe a high level of economic stress in their daily lives. They worry on a daily basis about how to make ends meet, and they struggle with finding enough time for both their children and their jobs. Women feel stretched thin for time and money, and believe that they have to do many jobs well while men only have to do one. Compared to three years ago, however, these women express a somewhat greater sense of economic independence, grounded in a belief that having survived the prolonged economic recession of the 1990s, they can survive whatever economic hardship life throws their way.
- ▶ **Health care and retirement:** Health care was a dominant concern in 1992, and it has reemerged as a strong concern today. The struggle to afford and maintain health insurance for their families is part of what constricts women's choices, and it is a source of tremendous insecurity and worry. In addition, retirement issues have now joined health care as central concerns. These women are not at all certain that Social Security will exist when they retire, and their jobs and their spouses' jobs less and less frequently have secure retirement plans. They know they must rely on themselves, and yet saving for their own retirement is a nearly impossible goal.

It is striking how strong these concerns are when compared to the more basic concern of having a job. Indeed, women today appear even more concerned with the health and retirement benefits that fewer and fewer jobs now provide than with having a job in the first place. At the same time, women do worry about what jobs pay, and they believe that women systematically earn less than men. Whether the issue is pay, health care or retirement, long-term economic and business trends are clearly affecting women in a personal and immediate way.

- ▶ **Violence:** Women remain acutely concerned with violence. In 1992, this concern was just beginning and was expressed primarily as a concern with personal victimization — fear of being assaulted themselves. Today, women's concerns for their own safety seem to be taking a back seat to concerns for their children's safety. They are fearful for their children's safety in their daily lives, in their schools and in their neighborhoods, and these fears are closely intertwined with their sense of

Lake Research

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decaying social values and with an out-of-control entertainment media. In today's political environment, concern with children's exposure to violence is a unique issue, uniting many women on the left with many women on the right.

► **False choices:** In *Women's Voices '92*, "choices" were a powerful theme. Progress for women was viewed as expanding choices — women could choose a career, they could choose to be a homemaker, or they could choose both. They both celebrated choices, and wanted more. In *Women's Voices '96*, women's desire for choices has been tempered by a growing suspicion that, in the reality of their own lives, true choices are rare. For many of these women, working is not a choice; it is an economic necessity for their families. In the end, it is women's frustration with the competing demands for their time that shapes their goals for themselves and their vision for the economy of the future.

► **Independence, education, and the entrepreneurial spirit:** After surviving recession and confronting the fact that promised choices are not always real, women in the mid-1990s value independence above all. For both themselves and their daughters, the women participating in *Women's Voices '96* want the independence that comes with being able to provide for themselves and their families, and the independence necessary for control over their own time and choices. One key to such independence, they believe, is education — a college education for their children, and continuing education for themselves. In addition, this drive for independence, for control over their own time and money, expresses itself in a strong entrepreneurial spirit, with many of these women dreaming of owning their own business.

► **Business and government:** Changes in the political landscape since 1992 have bred substantial political alienation, and these women, while believing that government could help if it wanted to, do not now see government as their ally. Nonetheless, they see a government role on some of the issues they care about — including health care and retirement — and they have a clear sense that government can and should promote education. In fact, they believe that a well-educated citizenry is in the government's own best interest. In addition, these women are now turning to business for solutions. They believe that businesses should provide greater flexibility in hours, more help with child care, and more opportunities for education and training — not as unusual benefits offered only by the most generous, but as all businesses' responsibility. Women are ready to demand more of business, and they are looking for a better partnership with their employers.

- **Respect and equity:** In both studies, women were acutely aware of inequities in the workplace and at home, particularly pay inequities. As we near the 21st century, women do not believe that they receive equal pay for equal work or that they have the same opportunities and rewards (for example, in promotion) as men. In *Women's Voices '96*, however, an additional theme emerges: a demand for social equity in the workplace as well as economic equity. The word used most frequently by women to define what they want in the workplace is "respect" — respect expressed personally as well as respect expressed in pay and opportunities.

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Economic Insecurity

Stress and economic insecurity re-emerged as a central theme in the *Women's Voices '96* focus groups. Across race, marital status, and income levels, women feel a very real responsibility for supporting their families, and they worry in specific personal terms about meeting basic expenses and stretching each dollar. As a younger white woman in Baltimore said, "You are always worried about making sure you are going to have enough to make ends meet." Added a Denver woman, "It's a continuous struggle... and it doesn't get any better." Economic insecurity permeates every aspect of women's lives, reducing their choices and robbing them of the time they often feel they need to spend at home with their family.

Women's economic concerns today are not limited to jobs and wages. In fact, women's strongest concerns center on the types of benefits that are no longer provided by most jobs — namely, health care and retirement.

Health care, in fact, is an even stronger concern than it was in 1992. The women participating in these focus groups frequently expressed a sense that they and their families are living on the edge, that illness could wipe out everything they are working so hard to achieve. As an African American-woman said, "If I'm sick, and I don't have medical insurance, my children's foundation is crumbled." In addition, making sure that their families have health insurance limits the choices that women can make. Often, the struggle to maintain health insurance traps women into job choices they might not otherwise make, a kind of job lock.

Lake Research

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I know that there are lots of people in jobs that are there not because of any other reason than they are kind of stuck. If they don't work this job then they don't get health insurance.

Young white woman

I'm 33 years old and I've been working since I was 15. And up until the last two years I had great health care. With all this new stuff, being self-employed, no health care. That's scary for me.

Pink and blue collar woman

I worry about health care and how it affects my job and my living and what I'll be able to do in the future.

Young white woman

Secure Retirement has also emerged as a strong and immediate concern. Many of these women understand that their employment histories mean that their Social Security benefits will be low — assuming, of course, that Social Security even survives, which many doubt:

Personally, I'm worried about retirement. I'll be working at 7-11 when I'm 75. Is the government going to take care of me then? I'm not so sure.

Pink and blue collar woman

I know people earn Social Security, but they should provide more for the elderly than what they are getting because it isn't enough to survive on.

Latina woman

Our age group is putting into Social Security and it is not necessarily going to be there for us to collect.

Young white woman

Public survey data underscores that women's economic concerns are strongly rooted in their worries about health care and retirement issues. In a recent poll for *U.S. News and World Report*, three of women's dominant concerns were "being able to make ends meet" (49 percent of women said they worry often), "being able to afford health care for you and your family in a crisis" (47 percent), and "having a secure retirement" (46 percent). In contrast, fewer women reported worrying frequently about "someone in your family losing a job" (27 percent) or "not being paid fairly for the work you do" (29 percent).² As described below, only time was a greater concern for women than these economic concerns.

² The bipartisan team of Lake Research and The Tarrance Group for *U.S. News and World Report*, August 14, 1995.

Violence is also a strong concern of women in America. In 1992, crime and violence were just beginning to emerge as major concerns of the American public and American women. Since then, the concern has grown, and the focus has shifted slightly. In *Women's Voices '92*, women's concern with violence was primarily expressed as a personal fear and a personal vulnerability — of assault, of rape, of harassment. In *Women's Voices '96*, women mention themselves less often, and they mention their children more often. Indeed, fear of violence among these women centers on their children's vulnerability, particularly in school, as well as on the eroding values that they hold responsible for these growing threats. In short, for many women, violence occupies the place where worries about children and values intersect, and it is therefore an issue which, more than any other, unites women of the left and women of the right.

Who is to say somebody else's child isn't going to have a gun and shoot my kid or push drugs on my kid?

Young white woman

Children are so impressionable. They see a hero with a gun and right away they want a gun, and they start shooting at anything in sight.

Latina woman

I have a child, but I don't want her to grow up in a society where she has to be afraid to go to school... The way the crime is in the school system with guns and knives, it is ridiculous.

Young African-American woman

I'm anxious about the environment that my children are growing up in — the drugs, the violence, the peer pressure that is being put on them.

White collar woman

I think it is bad that I don't feel as safe as I used to. When I was a kid it could be 9 o'clock and I could ride my Big Wheel around the block and Mom wouldn't worry. She'd sit on the front porch and wait for me and it took like six, seven minutes to get around the block. I'm a grown woman. I wouldn't do that now. I wouldn't ride my Big Wheel but I wouldn't walk either, not alone. And maybe even not accompanied. To me, the worst thing about being a woman is a fear of getting molested, raped or any of those general type of things.

Young White woman

Lake Research

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

False Choices

Would you rather have more time or more money? More time, the women participating in these focus groups responded emphatically. Women feel stretched thin, aware that they are juggling multiple roles, and they most often use words like "hectic" and "busy" to describe their own lives. Indeed, in the *U.S. News and World Report* poll, more women say they worry often about "having enough time and energy to get everything done that you need to do" than about any other issue (59 percent).

A lot of women are now playing the roles of homemaker, mother, father, provider. That is dividing a woman, in my opinion, into so many parts that she sometimes loses her own identity. I'm very frustrated because I'm having to do it all.

African-American woman

We are all slaves. Meaning that we have to work; we clean the house; we raise the children; we have to please the husband.

Latina woman

You still have to be the mom, and you still have to do all the house stuff, and even if you work you still have to do all that when you come home.

White collar woman

It seemed like I was always rushing [my son] off, rushing to get up in the morning and rushing to get him fed. Get his lunch packed. And then you are tired when you come home. I'd work ten hours a day and then come and pick him up. Then you go to bed so you really didn't have any time.

Pink and blue collar woman

In 1996, women's frustration with the demands on their time has acquired a harder edge. In *Women's Voices '92*, women certainly gave voice to their struggle to combine work and family, but they also expressed optimism that opportunities for women were expanding, and that women were beginning to have more choices. Said one 1992 participant, "Now a woman can wear the mother hat, she can wear the business hat, the sports hat, she can wear different hats if she chooses."

In this series of focus groups, however, the frustration seems greater than the optimism. These women agree that women today have more choices in principle, but they see few true choices in their own lives. While many enjoy their work, they know that they work because they must, because they need their income to survive:

Both of us work, and you only have so much energy.
But it's a necessity... We have no choice.

*White collar
woman*

I am roped into work. I have to work.

*Pink and blue
collar woman*

One job is never enough for a household.

*African-American
woman*

* Regardless of their economic circumstances, these women struggle with the competing demands on their time and feel that men do not carry an equal load. Both women who enjoy their jobs and women who work only out of economic necessity wish it were possible for more women to choose to stay home with growing children — if not for themselves, then for others. Said a young white woman, "I love my work. It gives me a sense of satisfaction and independence. But I would also like to be a housewife, which in this day and age would be impossible for me personally."

Although women from all class backgrounds struggle with these issues, the nuances are different for different women. White collar women, for example, are more likely to see their "work for pay" as not just a job, but as a career. In a recent *U.S. News and World Report*, 64 percent of college educated women described their work as "a career," while 62 percent of women without a college education described their work as "just a job."

The level of frustration and the sense of a lack of choices may even be slightly greater among African-American women. Several African-American women participating in these groups believe that being home to give their children time and attention is not just something positive, it is critical to their children's survival. Thus, for many African-American women, the choice between working and raising a child often seems even less of a real choice.

Lake Research

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I don't feel that parents are involved with their children's lives enough anymore. People are not concerned with where their children are, what is happening to them. They are doing what they want, raising themselves, that's why they are able to kill and shoot each other. Nobody cares about anybody's life anymore.

*African-American
woman*

I feel the richest thing in my life now is that I'm there for these grandchildren, and my 14 year old, because I was losing him.

*African-American
woman*

*W*In contrast, the younger women remained more optimistic about the choices available to women, and were much more likely to see progress and parity for women. The younger women also expressed greater optimism about the progress that women have made during the past fifty years - they believe that women have made real progress and that women will continue to make progress.

I work because I want to work. In my field we are all paid the same. It is based on competency. It's never been a man/woman issue.

*Young white
woman*

Many years ago, women were treated as second class citizens, but we have come so far!

*Young African-
American
woman*

Woman are now able to become or have a better job, respect, positive role or position in society, where years ago all we were good for was having babies.

*Young African American
woman*

You can have it any way you slice it right now being a woman. I really think that you have a power and a permission to be very intuitive, but also to be extremely ambitious, powerful and it is all okay.

*Young White
woman*

As a point of contrast, the men participating in our focus group talked about balancing work and family in quite different terms. Few men, for example, complained about not being able to spend enough time with their children, or about being torn between the time needed for work and the time needed for family. While the women unanimously asked for more time over more money, the men were somewhat more ambivalent — in fact, some joked that they wanted more time for themselves but wanted their wives to work for more money.

The gap between the way men and women see the demands on their time is evident in survey data as well. The table below presents the proportion of respondents within different age groups who say they worry often about "having enough time and energy." Notice the enormous difference between men and women in the middle age ranges, compared to the similarity of the men and women of the oldest and youngest groups:

Percent who worry often about
"having enough time and energy to get everything
done that you need to do"³

	Women	Men
Ages 18 to 34	68	70
Ages 35 to 44	72	53
Ages 45 to 64	60	46
Ages 65 and over	36	34

For most of these women, the lack of real choices in their lives does not lead them to conclude that life is fundamentally unfair toward women, nor to any sense that men generally are the foe when it comes to managing their time. At the same time, they clearly believe that women often bear a disproportionate share of the burden, and many — particularly the younger women — demand real partnerships from men, and express anger when their husbands do not bear their fair share. Complained a young white woman, "My husband comes home and when he comes home, that's it. He's done. He worked. That's it. I work. I come home. I have a two year old that doesn't quit. Dinner, straightening up." Indeed, for some women, full partnership is a non-negotiable demand:

³ U.S. News and World Report, August 14, 1995.

I just stopped living with my boyfriend because I get up at 6 o'clock, go to the gym, go to work. After work, I go to two or three grocery stores, come home, cook. And then he goes to work, comes home, and plays video games.

*Young
African-
American
woman*

When I was a chef I worked fourteen hours a day, and that is probably why my marriage didn't work. Because when I came home I would still scramble, make them dinner and do everything else. At that point, I didn't figure the guy knew how to do laundry, dinner, nothing because I still had to come home and do that.

*Pink and blue
collar woman*

Independence, Education, and Entrepreneurs

Independence, above all, is central to these women's goals. For themselves and for their daughters, independence means the ability to achieve economic security without depending on others, and it means the ability to make real choices, not false choices, about their own lives. In this context, education becomes critical: if independence is the end, then education is an important means to that end.

In *Women's Voices '96*, independence is a powerful theme, recurring in every focus group, and reflecting strong feelings:

I wouldn't want my daughter's life to be similar to mine as if — I would want my daughter to get married and to have a husband, but if he messes up, don't stay with him. Always be independent and be on your own. Don't depend on a man to come in and take care of you and think that a man is going to be able to come in and rescue you.

*African-American
woman*

I'd like to see my granddaughter be able to support and take care of herself and not really have to depend on anyone. Not that she wouldn't need someone, but the point is not to depend on someone.

*Pink and blue
collar woman*

Lake Research

I want to see my daughter be an independent person. I am going to teach her to be independent like my mom taught me and my sister. Independence is very important because a lot of women tend to look for that man and they get caught up in things.

Young African-American woman

I have a granddaughter and several nieces. I want them to be able to take care of themselves. Be independent, and everything that follows is a piece of cake.

Latina woman

With independence comes control of one's own destiny, as well as, among the younger women in particular, self-confidence. "One thing I really love is the independence in my life," said a young African-American woman. "Taking control of my life and what I want to do... I like to wake up and be able to do." And, said a white collar woman, "success just means having the confidence that I can take care of myself with or without anyone else."

And how can these women achieve independence? First, they look to **education**. When these women talk about education, they talk about two things: they talk about the basic education necessary for their children to get good jobs, and they talk about the continuing education that can allow them to move forward in their own lives:

My granddaughter just graduated out of high school, and I said "Girl, just get that education as long as you can get it, because you can't survive on the minimum wage. Nobody can." I don't want her to struggle like I had to.

Pink and blue collar woman

Education is a good thing, because if they need it to fall back on, then they've got it. They are prepared. They can be independent if they need to be.

White collar woman

We need better education, better opportunities for women not only on their own and through the schools, but through the work place.

Latina woman

The drive toward independence also leads many of these women to dream of owning their own business. For many, being an **entrepreneur** symbolizes the ultimate in independence — being able to provide economically for one's family entirely on one's own, and having complete control over one's own time and decisions.

Lake Research

The reason I think it would be appealing is I would love to start something that I have complete control of, and I'd like to prove to myself that I can make it in the outside world.

*Latina
woman*

For me, what it feels like as an independent contractor is the independence, the flexibility and the enjoyment in your own. You can make as much money as you want. You are in control of your own destiny.

*African-American
woman*

...Because you are in control of your own destiny, you don't mind putting the time and effort into your own company. You see the future.

*White collar
woman*

The Search for Solutions

In American politics today, faith in government is low. Although women are more likely than men to retain some sense that government can help solve problems,⁴ their cynicism is high and they are disillusioned. Said a young white woman, "I used to have high expectations of the government and think if people wanted something to happen, it would happen somewhere along the line like passing bills or whatever." This young woman no longer has these expectations.

Instead, these women have begun to search for new solutions. In particular, many look to businesses and employers, and they demand full partnership from business in solving the problems that their families confront. Thus, they look to businesses to provide more flexibility in hours, to provide child care and leave options, and — most strikingly — to

⁴ The *U.S. News and World Report* survey reported on August 14 asked Americans which is closer to their opinion: that "government can help people, and needs to be made for average working families," or that "government is the problem, not the solution to our problems." By a margin of 53 to 37 percent, men view government as the problem. By a margin of 48 to 43 percent, women believe that government can help. Among college-educated men and women in the workplace, results were even more polarized. Working college-educated men see government as the problem by a margin of 55 to 39 percent. Working college-educated women believe government can help by a margin of 56 to 33 percent.

provide opportunities for education and training. In fact, many of these women suggest that companies have an obligation to help employees with training and education. A white collar woman, for example, argued that businesses "could invest more in training employees so they could keep them as opposed to laying them off" because "they have the money." Moreover, many believe that helping employees with education would be both good for business and good for families. For example, when asked what would make going back to school possible, a Latina woman's first response was: "Your employer financing you going back to school to improve your job."

African-American and Latina women also look to community as an answer to their problems. And they therefore believe it is necessary for people in the community to join together and work as a group towards a common solution. They believe that minorities' concerns are being ignored by government and in the public policy process.

We need to form community meetings and town hall meetings among ourselves and find out what our community needs. *African-American woman*

If the blacks in DeKalb County could get together, they could really do something. *African-American woman*

We have to get the community together first. A lot of us can't go to an official. We have to get ourselves together and present it to them. *African-American woman*

You have to remember to bring back to the community. Do some free volunteering in the community. Just because you get ahead and you become professional and you have money, you have to remember where your roots are, where you started. I keep telling [my son]. I want him to become a doctor, dentist - whatever he wants to become. But, then do some volunteering back in the community. *Latina woman*

I choose my job because I love what I'm doing, and I know I'm needed; I know it doesn't pay anything, but I feel I am filling a need in the community. *Latina woman*

The focus on business and, among minority women, on the community does not mean that women have abandoned the government completely. In particular, women continue to want government to provide at least some retirement security, including Social Security, and they see health care, especially health care for the elderly, as "one of the most important" things government can do. In addition, many of these women see a role for government in fostering small businesses. After all, "if these small businesses happen to expand and grow wonderfully, they are going to be...the next big business to bring money into the country." Finally, and most strongly, these women see a role for government in helping people with education. Indeed, the women participating in the focus groups have a clear sense that helping Americans gain access to education is in the government's interest:

While I'm paying that tuition, I need a tax break. Here I am helping her to become a taxpayer. What am I getting for it? Nothing. The government is going to get the money from her in having a good job and paying taxes. These are the kinds of programs they need to come up with.

African-American woman

Promote education. Give women an education instead of saying, "Here. Here's your meal ticket."

White collar woman

In addition, if given reason to believe that government would be responsive to their concerns, these women stand ready to participate. As one African-American woman said, "If I got something that says we are having a forum on women's issues, helping women with their careers, with raising their families — something that actually spoke to me and something I was going through and needed help with, I would make it a point to attend."

Respect and Equity

Equity in the workplace, which was a prominent theme in *Women's Voices '92*, continues to be an issue with women today. In 1996, women remain acutely aware as well as frustrated that men are paid more for the same work. They also believe that men are promoted more, and that relates to higher pay:

Women still do not earn as much as men.

Latina woman

I think men, in general, across the board get paid more than women for the same work.

African-American woman

Lake Research

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I think we are still not getting paid equally for the same position in jobs.

Young white woman

There is still a lot of discrimination among men and women. Women aren't getting equal jobs or equal pay.

Young African-American woman

The pay structure between men and women is that women are still much lower paid than men.

Pink and blue collar woman

By contrast, when the men in the focus group were asked what women cared most about in the workplace and how they felt discriminated against, men believed it was sexual harassment, and this is something they resent. While harassment continues to be a real issue for women, it is clearly not as immediate a concern as pay equity, and it was mentioned less than in post-Anita Hill 1992.

Both harassment and pay equity issues, however, fall under the broader idea of respect, which was a strong theme throughout all the groups. Perhaps this woman summed it up the best:

My employer, for the first time I have saved all these cute little notes because they all say please and at the end they say thank you. I thought, wow, this is really incredible, and the other day I worked really hard. It was a one time deal. I never did this kind of thing before and as I was leaving - he said, "you did a wonderful job." I have noticed that lately I've been really getting the type of feedback that men didn't used to give women in the old days. They are just starting to - instead of being intimidated or whatever, they are just starting to come around to be able to say I can tell her she did a great job and I won't have to feel like I'm hitting on her or something.

Pink and blue collar woman

Respect and independence were also closely related in these discussions. For many of these women, independence can help bring respect. Said a young African-American woman, "If I had to be on my own I could get by. I don't need to be dependent upon someone else. I think we are able to get ahead, and I think we are starting to get a little more respect because we are moving up the ladder quite quickly."

Again and again, the women participating in the *Women's Voices '96* focus groups talked about respect — respect in the workplace, respect for the challenges they face every day, respect from society and respect from their spouses and family. Above all, these women want their voices heard, their concerns understood, and their lives respected.

Lake Research

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

METHODOLOGY

The research for *Women's Voices 1995* was conducted jointly by a bipartisan team of pollsters, including Celinda Lake, Jennifer Sosin, and Kim Callinan of Lake Research; Vince Breglio of RSM, Inc.; Raydean Acevedo of RMCI; and Linda Williams of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation.

The initial research was comprised of six focus groups held across the country among women of different ages, races, and economic backgrounds, as well as one focus group of white men, conducted as a counterpoint. All groups were conducted among registered voters.

June 12, 1995	Atlanta, Georgia	African-American women
June 12, 1995	Atlanta, Georgia	College-educated white women
June 13, 1995	Baltimore, Maryland	Younger white women
June 13, 1995	Baltimore, Maryland	White men
June 26, 1995	Denver, Colorado	Latina women
June 26, 1995	Denver Colorado	White women in pink- and blue-collar jobs
June 27, 1995	Atlanta, Georgia	Younger African-American women

Atlanta, Georgia			Denver, Colorado		Baltimore, Maryland	
Women	Women	Women	Women	Women	Women	Men
African-American	White	African-American	Latina	White	White	White
25-60	25-60	20-28	25-60	25-60	20-28	20-60
Mixed education	More than 2 yrs college; 1/2 college grads	----	Mixed education	No more than 2 years of college; 1/2 with no college	1/2 with some college	1/2 college graduates
Employed	At least 2/3 employed; white collar jobs	Employed; no more than 2 full-time students	At least 1/2 employed	At least 2/3 employed; clerical and blue collar jobs	At least 2/3 employed; no more than 2 full-time students	At least 2/3 employed
City residents	Suburban residents	City residents	----	----		----
---	Max 3 strong Dems and 3 strong Repubs	----	---	Max 3 strong Dems and 3 strong Repubs	Max 3 strong Dems and 3 strong Repubs	Max 3 strong Dems and 3 strong Repubs

Lake Research

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Carlie S. Dixon to Hillary Clinton [partial] (1 page)	9/10/1995	P6/b(6)
002. memo	Mandy Grunwald to Hillary Clinton (2 pages)	7/6/1999	P5
003. list	Workplan for USG Participation in 4th World Conference (2 pages)	6/4/1999	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 First Lady's Office
 Melanne Vermeer (Beijing & Trafficking)
 OA/Box Number: 20632

FOLDER TITLE:

Beijing +5 [folder 1]

Whitney Ross
 2006-0198-F
 wr765

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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GRUNWALD COMMUNICATIONS

MEMORANDUM

TO HRC
FROM Mandy Grunwald
DATE July 6, 1999

RE Key Points to Remember for the Trip

A few style pointers to keep in mind for the trip:

1. Keep your tone conversational: This is particularly important at the Moynihan event where you will have 200 people in front of you. Don't let their presence force you to raise your voice or turn your statement into a speech. It's important that your tone stay informal and relaxed and therefore not political.

The microphone will do the work for you, so try to keep your tone what it was on the Today Show or with Rather – chatty, intimate, informal.

2. Don't be defensive. Look like you want the questions: The press is obviously watching to see if they can make you uncomfortable or testy. Even on the annoying questions, give relaxed answers.
3. No matter what the question, use your answer to get back to our message: You have a tendency to answer just the question asked. That's good manners, but bad politics. Take every opportunity you can to shift your response to an area you want to talk about and then be really expansive on that part of the answer.
4. Look for opportunities for humor. It's important that people see more sides of you, and they often see you only in very stern situations.
5. Be careful to "be real". You did this well in the Rather interview where you acknowledged that of course last year was rough. Once you agree with the audience's/reporters' reality like that, it gives you a lot of latitude to then say whatever you want.

COPY

6. Don't assume anyone knows anything about you – substantively. The New York press and New Yorkers generally know about health care, your work for children, and then a lot of tabloid junk. On issues, take the time to tell people about your work on things like foster care. However...
7. Don't use the Administrations record as your own: You've spent a lot of years saying, "My husband did X". This trip is about you. And you are not an incumbent. If you want to talk about something like CHIP, talk about what you did.
8. Despite everything people know about you personally, they actually know very little. Remember the impact you had in the Rather interview talking about growing up in Illinois when you could just play on the street and so on. Those are the kinds of details that people would be great to reveal in the listening sessions.

Finally, one substantive point.

- On the commuter tax, I would not describe it as a "local issue" and use that as an excuse not to take a position. What about the dairy compact? Or upstate airfares? Aren't those all local issues. I recommend you use just the second part of your answer. That it's in the courts now, and the bigger question is how to lower NY's tax burden.

And two other questions you might prepare for.

- "Your only government assignment was health care which was a fiasco. How does that record stack up against Mayor Giuliani's?" -- essentially be prepared to summarize your accomplishments.
- "Have you ever used drugs?"

Those are my final thoughts. I'll be at the Moynihan's tonight if you would like to talk.

COPY

Fred
Kamme
for dinner

G/CS Workshop for USG Participation
in the Fourth World Conference on Women

as of JULY 24

declaration

I. DOCUMENT STRATEGY

- ~~scope paper~~
- ~~full side-by-side and US bracket removal (ongoing)~~ Eric Sch
- ~~Monsignore Martin cable (out July 20)~~
- ~~health demarche pending side-by-side consensus~~
- ~~demarche cable for US priorities overall (w/o July 24)~~
- ~~demarche cable on outcome of informals (w/o August 7)~~

II. ~~substantive briefing~~ ~~UN STRATEGY~~ ~~for Tim, MKA, JRC~~

- ~~JRC, MKA substantive briefing~~
- call to GMongella w/o July 24 (MMM)
- call to TGastout re China press issues (MMM) ongoing
- tentative meeting w TGastout, NY, Aug 1
- TEW visit NY Aug 3-4

CHINA POLICY

- TEW/WLord & China desk-G/CS consultations ongoing July 25
- TEW w/ Chinese AMB. July 26
- AmEmbassy Beijing pol officer briefing

IV. COMMITMENTS

- ~~draft commitments paper for review w/o July 31~~

V. NGO ISSUES

- ~~Accreditation action in Geneva ongoing w/o July 20~~
- ~~Washington public meetings August 1 in Washington~~
- ~~final briefing w/o August 14 to be scheduled~~
- ~~various NY briefings in July & August~~
- ~~response from ISantiago re USDel briefing sites at Conference~~
- ~~and possibly NGO Forum (DONE)~~
- visa cable to Post (gone)
- Maureen Regan accreditation (done) (stalling)
- consular meeting July 24 → Aug 9-10
- mailing to US ngos
- letter from BBLord re Asian/American experience in China

Consular packet to MU

DS sheet

Report

MKA schedule

Fred Broad

COPY

Wait
-2-
PUBRIC OUTREACH

- Ellen Hadas
- Note:
- First Lady letter

- speaking engagements across US ongoing
- ongoing megatalkers updated weekly
- top five questions megatalker for del use w/o July 24
- outreach calendar updated weekly
- mailings: FOCUS on Preparations mailing to G/CS list (DONE)
ongoing to other G lists
Linkages PRM mailing (DONE)
- PA publications re delegates and Nairobi model in process
- public handouts:
FOCUS on One size -- w/o July 24
Consular info sheet (DONE)
two-pager: what does holding on to Vienna, Cairo
Copenhagen mean?
FOCUS top five questions w/o July 24
National Report printing - USIS
another meeting with BBLord group, before we leave?

press kit

VII.

HILL

- send FOCUS on Preparations to Hill staff (DONE)
- logistical info re member travel w/o July 10
- list of other events to Hill
- MKA Aug 2 briefings -- tent. 10:30
- leg prohibitions talkers July 24

GiGi - influential
makes
this week

MKA }
MLK } talkers for next
week

VIII.

PRESS & COMMUNICATIONS

- calendar of press events ongoing
- another principals' press secretaries meeting early August
- proposed MKA op ed out
- PA press kit in process finalized ?
- op ed strategy for delegates (GFerraro)
- MKA CNP event Aug 2 -- tent. 8:30

Call George Ardubold

See Web

Public
Don't know

no PA
then MEG
formally

IX.

LOGISTICS

- State advance team to China w/o July 3 & 10
- team report to TEW July 21
- accreditation memo to OIC from TEW w/o July 24

who does what memo
Cyrus officers TDY

not like Cairo
no active strategy
delegation press

DELEGATION PREPARATION

- August 7-8 delegation meeting site confirmed
- delegation meeting agenda in process, speakers being contacted
- delegation briefing books outline in process, firm w/o July 10
- August 7 dinners: hosts and invitees lists w/o July 24

Delegation
Agenda

Schedule
book

MEG
Meeting Press

XI.

PARALLEL EVENTS

- compilation fo list of activities parallel to Conference and
Forum for VIP visitors ongoing

Write Op eds

SEC3 673

placement
MCA
Tim
Amy
Metc



Del. Op Ed
who gets placement
Can Co-ordination
hosting Reps (Members of Congress)

COPY

Markus & Co. graphic &
all press coordinating

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Linda Tarr-Whelan to Melanne Verveer, re: CSW Problem (2 pages)	3/13/2000	P5

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Clinton Presidential Records
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Melanne Verveer (Beijing & Trafficking)
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file Beijing +5
Fax 202-456-6244

March 13, 2000

MEMORANDUM TO: Melanne Vermeer,
Assistant to the President

FROM: Linda Tarr-Whelan *Linda*
US Rep to CSW

RE: Urgent Attention Needed
Major CSW Problem

As I mentioned on the phone last night, there is clearly a major problem with balancing two important foreign policy goals: Cuba and Beijing +5. Tomorrow the prepcom for Copenhagen +5 is due to meet at 10am to resolve a major issue between the United Nations and Cuba on language about sanctions.

There has never been a vote on a paragraph on prepcom documents - it has always been by consensus. It is the expectation here that a vote will be called at 10am on this paragraph. The Department prefers this course of action to taking a reservation on the paragraph - a position that puts CSW negotiations in great jeopardy.

On Saturday I received a formal complaint from the CSW Bureau about US actions that are "poisoning the atmosphere" by continuing to hold open the document long after the completion of negotiations, failing to work for consensus and

- preventing negotiators for CSW (who are, in many cases, the same negotiators for Copenhagen +5) from concentrating solely on Beijing +5.
- taking time and space (a conference room) away from CSW negotiations.

On Saturday, I also received informal but passionate complaints from the EU that the US was trying "to go back from agreed Copenhagen language" and to set up a voting process on individual paragraphs of prepcom documents that "could completely unravel the entire +5 process".

I agree with these assessments. The EU, and the US Delegation to the CSW, are also concerned that any deal on this language should cover both prepcs since we have similar Beijing language that can bring this up again.

In the last two weeks that I have been in New York I have raised the problem of this contretemps on the phone and in person with the Department (particularly Michael Southwick and Michael Dennis). While USUN has been very aware of the difficulty, so far, CSW concerns have taken a very back seat

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on solving the problem from the Department perspective. Now we are in a crisis.

Background:

Attached is a summary of the progress of negotiations. On March 7, the Chilean intermediary suggested that there could be a settlement according to the following text:

"Experience since the Summit suggests [insert "demonstrates" instead of "suggests"] that social development can be affected by the application of unilateral measures not in accordance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations, which can [delete "can"] create obstacles to trade relations among states, could [delete "could"] impede the full realization of social and economic development, and may [delete "may"] hinder the well-being of some of the population in the affected countries."

Action needed:

This is an urgent situation. I called Eric Schwartz over the weekend but did not connect. I am calling Michael Southwick again this morning. You should know that there are new issues being raised by the Department this morning to reopen paragraphs that are closed. All of this places the CSW negotiations in an impossible position. Clearly, as a country, we have many things at stake in our foreign policy and there needs to be a re-balancing of concerns.

CC: . Amb. Betty King
Amb. Michael Southwick

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Briefing Note on Beijing +5 (5 pages)	n.d.	P5

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OA/Box Number: 20362

FOLDER TITLE:

Beijing +5 [folder 2] [2]

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr767

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM: Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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Briefing note on Beijing + 5

The second session of the Commission on the Status of Women acting as preparatory committee for the special session took place in conjunction with the 43rd session of the Commission on the Status of Women, from 1 to 19 March 1999. A draft resolution on preparations for the special session, submitted by the PrepCom to the General Assembly for adoption, was adopted on 17 December (resolution 54/142, attached). The 10-member Bureau of the PrepCom is chaired by Ms. Roselyn Odera of Kenya. The other members of the Bureau are: Tanzania (Ms. Christine Kapalata), Japan (Ms. Misako Kaji), India (Mr. Ashit Bhattacharjee), Canada (Ms. Kirsten Mlacak), Germany (Ms. Patricia Flor), Ecuador (Ms. Monica Martinez), St. Lucia (Ms. Sonia Leonce-Carryl), Croatia (Ms. Dubravka Simonovic), and Lithuania (Ms. Rasa Ostrauskaite).

The third, and last session of the Commission acting as preparatory committee for the special session will take place from 28 February to 17 March 2000. These meetings are open to NGOs. The organization of work for the three-week session, in particular the allocation of time to the CSW proper and to the PrepCom, has been agreed upon by the Bureaux of the two bodies, and is attached.

In the course of 1999, the Bureau of the PrepCom met, as necessary, to continue preparations for the special session. The Chair also convened several consultations with States on these preparations. There is agreement that the outcome of the special session will include a political declaration, and a second outcome document, the title of which has not yet been finalized.

Most recently, the Chairperson of the PrepCom held informal consultations on 23 and 24 November, and in the week of 29 November to 3 December. The results of these informal consultations are contained in the attached notes.

Highlights include:

1. Political declaration: consensus was reached on all but three paragraphs.
2. Second outcome document: agreement was reached on the structure of the document. Governments made suggestions on the types of issues to be addressed under each of the four sections.
3. Modalities for NGO participation: this question remains unresolved.

Next steps:

1. Second outcome document: the Chairperson of the PrepCom is mandated to prepare a first draft of the second outcome document, in cooperation with the Bureau and the Secretariat, along the lines agreed to in the informals, and to provide it to delegations to serve as basis for negotiations. In a Bureau meeting following the last informals, the Secretariat and the Bureau agreed on a time table for the preparation of the draft. It is expected that the Chair will make the draft

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available to delegations in the week of 24 January. The Bureau will meet again in the week of 11 January to continue this work.

2. Modalities for NGO participation: during the last informal consultations, the EU and other States (mainly Eastern European) raised the issue of NGO accreditation as an issue separate from the modalities for NGO participation in the special session. This matter was subsequently taken up by the Bureau of the PrepCom.

- The EU is of the view that in light of developments since the drafting of the language in resolution 54/142, op. 16 (in March 1999), further discussions are required regarding the participation of NGOs. In the view of some, OP 16 would indicate that only NGOs in consultative status with the ECOSOC as well as NGOs that were accredited to the Fourth World Conference on Women may participate in the special session. Such an interpretation, in the view of the EU and others, would exclude NGOs that have been created since 1995, and that have not sought, or do not intend to seek consultative status, but who are nevertheless interested in attending an event like a special session to meet other NGOs, to network, etc. In light of the decisions reached for NGO participation in WSSD + 5 (which is broader), the EU argues that the question of NGO accreditation therefore requires further discussion also for Beijing + 5, so as to ensure equal access for NGOs interested in the Beijing + 5 process. This view was explained in some detail by the EU after the adoption of the relevant resolution by the General Assembly on 17 December (attached).
- During the PrepCom Bureau meeting on 16 December, the matter was discussed whereby several Bureau members objected to what was seen as an effort of the EU to reopen an issue that had been settled in principle, i.e. NGO participation. At the same time, they also saw that the present formula would potentially exclude some NGOs from being involved in the special session. While no agreement on how to resolve the issue of accreditation for NGOs not covered by the formula of OP 16 was found, members of the Bureau agreed that Japan would serve as facilitator to see how this impasse on the question of accreditation could be resolved. The matter will be further discussed in the Bureau meeting in January. It is hoped that once the question of accreditation is resolved, the question of modalities for participation in the special session (in particular, speaking opportunities in Plenary) will be resolved quickly. The Special Adviser is in close touch with the facilitator, Ms. Misako Kaji, and with the Chairperson.

3. To the extent that services are available, the Chair will convene the next set of informal consultations in the week of 31 January to 4 February. Issues to be taken up: NGO participation/accreditation, and the second outcome document.

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Regional preparations:

Similar to the preparatory process that led up to the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, all regions have scheduled activities to review and appraise progress made in the implementation of regional plans of actions, as well as regional implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action. The following three regional preparatory meetings have already taken place:

- ESCAP: high-level meeting to review the implementation of the Jakarta Declaration and Plan of Action and regional implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action from 26 to 29 October 1999 in Bangkok, Thailand.
- ECA: sixth African Regional Conference on Women to assess progress in the implementation of the Beijing and African Platforms for Action, from 22 to 27 November 1999 in Addis Ababa.
- ESCWA: Second Meeting to follow-up Beijing from 15 to 18 December 1998; will convene an Arab Conference on Integrated Follow-up to Global Conferences from 29 November to 1 December 1999 in Beirut.

The Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women participated in the ECA and ESCWA meetings, and a senior staff member of her Office attended the ESCAP meeting on her behalf. In conjunction with all three meetings, the Special Adviser held inter-agency briefings as well as briefings for NGOs on preparations for the special session. The latest documents were distributed. Particular focus was placed on the role, contribution and participation of these actors in preparatory processes and at the special session itself.

The following two meetings will be convened in early 2000:

- ECE: expert meeting at the intergovernmental level to review economic issues, problems and policies relating to women in the ECE countries from 19 to 21 January 2000 in Geneva.
- ECLAC: 8th regional conference on the integration of women into the economic and social development of Latin America and the Caribbean from 8 to 10 February 2000 in Lima.

The Director of the Division for the Advancement of Women is scheduled to participate in these meetings.

Inter-agency activities:

UN entities are invited to participate in the Special Session in accordance with modalities outlined in GA res. 52/231. Their role is critical in ensuring broad-based national and regional involvement in the preparatory process, notably through their field offices.

The Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women held several informal meetings at Headquarters of the ACC Inter-agency Committee on Women and Gender Equality in the course of 1999 on preparations for the special session, most recently on 18 November. She held informal inter-agency meetings at all duty stations she visited on mission in the course of the year (including Vienna, Geneva, and Rome, as well as in conjunction with regional meetings), to discuss preparations for the special

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session. She has also set up a steering committee to coordinate UN system-wide contributions to, and involvement in preparations for the special session, and in the special session itself. A meeting of the steering committee has been scheduled for 13 January, at which point an inventory of ongoing and planned UN system activities will be prepared.

Documentation for the PrepCom:

Documentation for the next session of the PrepCom is being prepared in accordance with ECOSOC resolution 1996/6, ECOSOC decision 1999/278, and General Assembly resolution 54/142.

- The Secretary-General's report on implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action has been completed by the DAW and is now undergoing Departmental clearances. The document is approximately 170 pages long, and contains a review and assessment of the implementation of the 12 critical areas of concern, together with a chapter presenting an overview of trends, and a chapter on new and emerging challenges.
- A report of the Secretary-General containing an assessment of UN system-wide activities in support of implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action is being finalized.
- The report of an expert group meeting on future initiatives, organized by DAW and hosted by ESCWA from 8 to 10 November, has been widely distributed to delegations, NGOs and other actors, and is available on the DAW's website. It will also be made available to the next session of the PrepCom.
- A report of CEDAW on its assessment of progress made, and obstacles encountered in implementation of the Platform, in relation to the Convention, had been submitted to the last session of the PrepCom (E/CN.6/1999/PC/4).
- The outcomes of the regional preparatory meetings will be made available to the PrepCom, as will reports prepared by the Secretariats of the Regional Commissions that served as a basis for the outcomes of these events.
- A report summarizing the online working groups on the twelve critical areas of concern that have taken place in 1999 to serve as input into the review and appraisal of progress made in the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action.

Interdepartmental task force:

As for previous special sessions of the General Assembly held at Headquarters, the Office of Conference Services of DGAASS has established an interdepartmental task force to coordinate the logistical arrangements for the special session. The task force is chaired by the Assistant Secretary-General of Conference Services, and members include the Special Adviser, the Director of DAW, Security, General Assembly Affairs, ECOSOC Affairs, DPI, NGO Unit, BMS.

NGO outreach:

The Special Adviser has met with NGOs during all mission travel undertaken in the course of 1999 to brief them on preparations for the special session. These have

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included meetings with NGO representatives in Geneva (twice), Vienna, Addis Ababa, Beirut and Bangkok. The Director of the Division for the Advancement of Women has convened several informal meetings with NGO representatives in New York over the last six months to review preparations for the special session, and to seek their ideas on issues to be addressed during the preparations and at the special session. She has also spoken on two panel discussions organized by NGOs in the course of the General Assembly on Beijing + 5.

30 December 1999

word: briefing note dsg on Beijing

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	USG Believes Beijing +5 Should Include... (2 pages)	n.d.	P5

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RESTRICTION CODES

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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USG believes Beijing + 5 should include the following:

- A celebration and reaffirmation of the Platform for Action.
- A highlight of achievements made worldwide as a result of the Fourth World Conference on Women.
- A brief description by all delegations of best practices and lessons learned.
- The identification of further actions and initiatives needed to fully implement the Platform for Action.
- The identification of tools or institutional changes that could accelerate implementation of the Platform, e.g. gender mainstreaming, public-private partnerships, etc.
- The adoption of a short visionary Declaration reaffirming worldwide commitment to the Platform for Action.
- High level participation by all delegations, including the United States.
- The announcement by heads of delegations of concrete commitments (or actions) individual governments plan to take to further implement the Platform for Action.
- Participation of NGOs, including representatives of youth organizations, on official delegations.
- Participation by accredited NGOs in Beijing + 5 and a re-affirmation of the importance of NGOs and other members of civil society in implementing the Platform for Action.
- International satellite conferencing of Beijing + 5 to expand the link with government officials and NGOs worldwide.

Suggestions for the form and substance of Beijing + 5:

Regarding the substance:

- Negotiate only one document—a short declaration that celebrates and reaffirms the Platform for Action.
- Each member state could be invited to submit a one-page summary of a best practice or lessons learned. The Secretary General could issue these submissions as an official document of Beijing + 5.

Regarding the format:

- Have a plenary where heads of delegations announce commitments they intend to take to accelerate implementation of the Platform for Action.
- Have the concurrent informal sessions be a five-day dialogue—a sharing of best practices and lessons learned, for example:
 - Have concurrent informal sessions on best practices or lessons learned regarding each of the 12 critical areas of concern. B + 5 will take place over 5 days—that's ten sessions (morning and afternoon of each

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*This a possible structure
Sharon K has suggested
and Theresa
interested in
considering.
Lidi*

of the five days. You could devote Monday morning to "violence against women," Monday afternoon to the "girl child," etc. Or you could have concurrent sessions, with Monday morning featuring "poverty" in one room, and "education" in another.

- Governments and NGOs could be invited to speak for 5 minutes on a best practice or lesson learned on that particular critical area of concern. In order to give every government and a fair number of NGOs the opportunity to speak, governments would have to sign up in advance and they would be limited to 2 or 3 critical areas of concern.
- This would have the warm atmosphere of an NGO forum rather than a heated inter-governmental debate —and I think it would yield positive results.
- The Press would probably be more interested in this interactive dialogue than in debates over adjectives and commas.
- And, we could encourage governments to include NGOs on their delegations because many of the best practices and lessons learned will have emanated from the grass roots. This would also be an excellent opportunity to include youth on delegations so they could address the girl child and other issues.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Critical Areas of Concern in the Proposed Outcome Document for Beijing +5 (3 pages)	n.d	P5
002. agenda	Meeting with Delegation from the Holy See on Population Issues (5 pages)	2/1999	P5
003. cable	UN Population Review (2 pages)	7/3/1999	P1/b(1)
004. cable	Reply to Vatican (3 pages)	7/2/1999	P1/b(1)
005. cable	UN Population Review: Ambassador Clarifies US Positions (2 pages)	7/9/1999	P1/b(1)

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Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Critical Areas of Concern in the Proposed Outcome Document for Beijing+5

In the proposed outcome document entitled "Further actions and initiatives to implement the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action", there are five problematic issues of concern to the Holy See.

1) New Terms

Several new terms have been proposed throughout the document — new in the sense that they are not agreed terms used by the United Nations, nor have they been clearly defined by the United Nations.

These terms are: "sexual rights" (paras. 8, 41, 41 bis, 37, 59 c), "sexual orientation" (paras. 3, alt. 3, 44 bis, 56 i ter and 56 l), "full diversity of women" (paras. 44 bis, 56 d bis, 63 g). For instance, as for the expression "sexual rights", the proposal to introduce this term, separating it from the function of reproduction is very misleading, because it could open the way to the approval of uncontrollable sexual freedom, for instance homosexuality or abortion.

Even language on decriminalizing homosexuality and repealing laws which encourage discrimination and violence against lesbians (proposal for paras. 20 and 56 g bis) is not unambiguous. The Holy See cannot accept that the fight against discrimination and violence be manipulated in order to disguise an agenda intended to promote those life styles.

On the basis of the mandate given to the Special Session by the General Assembly Resolutions A/RES/54/142 and A/RES/54/143, resolutions which specifically state that there is to be "no renegotiation of the Platform for Action", these terms must not be included.

2) Appropriate references to the family and parental rights, duties and responsibilities

The Holy See has made proposals to include language on the family throughout the document, but a group of States has introduced a paragraph on "families" (para. 51 ter), which departs significantly from the agreed language on "family".

The Holy See wishes also to include references to "the rights, duties and responsibilities" of parents in the education of their children, in paragraphs 27, 63 (t) and 63 (gg). Any proposal regarding the education of children or the provision of sexual and reproductive health information or services to young people must include a reference to parental rights, duties and responsibilities (para. 267 Beijing Platform).

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3) Abortion

Some groups of Countries have made proposals to include language on abortion and language on training health services providers in abortion, without reference to their right to refuse on the basis of conscientious objection. Although these proposals are taken from paragraph 106 (k) of the Beijing Platform or from paragraph 63 (iii) of the Cairo+5 outcome document, all of them have changed the context and have removed the crucial balancing aspects of the original paragraph.

Where possible, such references to abortion should be deleted. However, if delegations insist on including such language, the entire paragraph 106(k) of the Beijing Platform must be restated in full.

As regards the language on abortion training for health service providers, it is imperative that the right of conscience be upheld, also because many countries have such a provision in their own legal systems. Suggested language would be: ".... train and equip health service providers whose right of conscience should be fully recognized and protected in accordance with Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and should take other measures to ensure that abortion is safe".

Another possible reference to abortion is "forced pregnancy" (paragraphs 13 and 39). The crime of "forced pregnancy" has been so defined by the Statute of the International Criminal Court: "Forced pregnancy means the unlawful confinement of a woman forcibly made pregnant, with the intent of affecting the ethnic composition of any population or carrying out other grave violations of international law. This definition shall not in any way be interpreted as affecting national laws relating to pregnancy". (Art. 7.i)

To ensure that this carefully drafted definition of "forced pregnancy" is taken into account, the Holy See has proposed to add "as defined as a war crime in Section 7.i. of the Statutes of the International Criminal Court".

4) A holistic approach to health care

The paragraphs on the health care of women need to take on a more holistic approach, rather than sole emphasis on the provision of sexual and reproductive health services. This holistic approach is demonstrated in the Holy See's alternative proposal for paragraph 9. In order to do this, "primary health care" should replace "sexual and reproductive health care" in as many paragraphs as possible. In cases where the specific references to sexual and reproductive health care remain, language should be inserted which ensures that (1) services are "Provided without any form of coercion" (Beijing Platform paras. 95, 96; ICPD paras. 7.3, 7.12, 11.21) and (2) in cases where girls are mentioned, "the rights, duties and responsibilities of parents" must be taken into account (Beijing Platform para. 267).

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Some language of concern to the Holy Sec : "sexual and reproductive health", which appears in several paragraphs, and "female-controlled contraceptive methods, such as the female condom and microbicides" (paras. 9, 31 and 63 t).

5) Proper references to the UN Conferences (e.g. Beijing, Cairo) which adequately reflect the reservations made by many delegations at these Conferences.

After the first mention of the Beijing Platform for Action (para. 1) and the Cairo Programme of Action (para. 8), the following language should be inserted, respectively:

- Beijing: "as contained in the report of the Fourth World Conference on Women"
- Cairo: "as contained in the report of the Conference on Population and Development".

These references are essential because they take into account the reservations made by many of the States who joined the consensus. A footnote is not sufficient.

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B+S
February

Meeting with Delegation from the Holy See
On Population Issues
(February 9, 1999 - USDel Meeting Room)

1. OBJECTIVES

- Solicit the Holy See delegation's cooperation in those areas of the ICPD Program of Action on which we agree.
- Reassure the delegation that the U.S. does not want the Forum results or the ICPD+5 review to be inconsistent with or go beyond the ICPD Program of Action. However, we do want forward-looking language in the action items that will help us overcome the obstacles countries have faced in implementing the Program of Action.
- Should it be raised, stress that the U.S. expects the ICPD+5 review to look at all areas of the Program of Action (including those the Vatican had opposed).

2. APPROACH

During your visit, you will meet with Monsignor Frank Dewayne, Holy See Delegation Head and member of the Pontifical Council "Cor Unum", and two other members of that delegation. Msgr. Dewayne is an experienced Vatican diplomat who headed the Holy See delegations to the Cairo and Beijing Conferences. While he will not back off hardline Vatican positions, he will prefer to focus on building consensus around issues touching on social justice, women's dignity and equality, and the family unit.

Focus on those areas of the ICPD Program of Action that our two sides agree on, seeking a commitment to work together on them. They include gender equality and equity as the necessary precursors to sustainable development, and the education of girls and women to improve their health and empower them to participate in the economic life and decision-making of their societies. Special attention to the needs of the poorest as a matter of social justice, support for the family, and opposition to all forms of coercion in population policies are additional areas of agreement. You can also mention the need to address the development needs of adolescents, recognizing the importance of young people in shaping the next century, but be aware that the subject of adolescents is delicate, as the Vatican believes "adolescent reproductive rights" is a code phrase for premarital teenage sex.

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You do not need to raise those issues where the Administration and the Vatican strongly differ; if they come up, you should just agree to disagree. In addition to adolescent sexuality and reproductive rights, these issues include abortion, artificial contraception and sterilization, and individual reproductive rights - basically, anything other than marital couples practicing periodic sexual abstinence. Both sides will defend their respective positions during the Forum debate and throughout the rest of the ICPD+5 review process.

What we want from the Forum is a clear statement of experience to date and lessons learned. In debate we will need to insist that (1) the Forum results not go beyond the ICPD Program of Action, e.g., to discuss a "right to abortion", and (2) the Forum results include all the significant points of the Program of Action (some of which the Vatican opposes). You should reassure the Holy See delegation on the first point; if the second one comes up, stress our expectation that coverage of the Program of Action will be comprehensive.

0 PARTICIPANTS

Holy See

Monsignor Frank Dewayne, Head of Delegation and member of the Pontifical Council "Cor Unum"
The Honorable Carlo Cassino, European Parliament Deputy
Monsignor Ettore Belestrero, Secretary, Apostolic Nunciature in The Hague

U.S.

Frank Loy
Julia V. Taft
Margaret Pollack, Director, Office of Population, PRM
Peggy Curlin, President, CEDPA

Attachment: Background and Talking Points

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THE VATICAN AND THE ICPD

BACKGROUND: Pope John Paul II has been an outspoken opponent of abortion and "artificial" contraception. He considers legalized abortion for any reason a sign of a "culture of death". Under the Church's position that every act of intercourse should hold the possibility of conception, only periodic abstinence is acceptable as a family planning method. The Church opposes even condom usage for protection from HIV/AIDS. This position is more extreme than that of conservative U.S. activists such as Rep. Chris Smith (R, NJ) who accept at least barrier methods to prevent fertilization. The Pope also believes that U.S. culture overemphasizes individualism, including in regard to sexuality and reproductive rights, to the detriment of the family and society.

The Pope's fear that the 1994 ICPD in Cairo would propose a "right to abortion" was not realized; Cairo disavowed abortion as a method of family planning. The Holy See ultimately supported much of the ICPD Program of Action, although it had not joined the consensus at earlier international population conferences in Bucharest and Mexico City. Cairo's greater acceptability stemmed from the linkage it made between development and population, and its opposition to all forms of coercion in population policies. The Holy See also singled out as praiseworthy Cairo's emphasis on the family, women's status and women's health, migration, and respect for religious and cultural beliefs.

The Holy See did not join the consensus on certain Program of Action chapters. The concept that couples and individuals should have access to a range of contraception exceeded the Vatican's acceptable parameters for sexual activity: the marital couple and natural family planning. The Holy See specifically objected to the use of condoms in HIV/AIDS prevention programs. It viewed provisions dealing with sexuality among adolescents as implying extramarital activity and, hence, unacceptable. Such language as "In circumstances where abortion is not against the law, it should be safe" did not meet the Holy See's wish that abortion be explicitly condemned under all circumstances.

After heavy and generally negative media coverage of its mostly hard-line stance in Cairo, the Holy See focused on defending the dignity of women at the 1995 Beijing Conference on Women. It was very pleased with our support in Beijing for the family, religion, the role of mothers, and health care and education for women and girls. These

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themes are part of the ICPD Program of Action as well, and are natural points for cooperation between the U.S. and the Holy See during ICPD+5.

Since Cairo, however, the Holy See has continued to work against key aspects of the international consensus reached at the ICPD. Top level Church officials in the Vatican and abroad still vocally oppose artificial contraception. They have called safe sex immoral and advised that condoms do not protect against HIV/AIDS, and cut off (symbolic) funding to UNICEF over emergency contraception for raped women. They oppose unmarried adolescent access to sex education, counseling and contraception. The Vatican told Catholic counseling centers in Germany not to issue counseling certificates, needed for legal abortions, to pregnant clients who might seek abortions. No U.S. hospital or health facility under Catholic management is allowed to offer artificial contraception and sterilization counseling or services. After Church lobbying, Catholic-sponsored insurance plans were exempted from U.S. legal requirements to cover contraceptives.

The Vatican's hardline positions are not followed by many clerics and most laity, nor are they in the religious mainstream regarding the implementation of the ICPD Program of Action. Religion Counts - an inter-religious group of religious scholars, experts, and leaders from around the world - met in Rome in January to draft and issue "The Rome Declaration on the ICPD". The Rome Declaration articulates religious support for ethical approaches to population and development, and declares solidarity with the ICPD Program of Action. Implicitly addressing some of the Holy See's positions, it reaffirms that comprehensive sexual and reproductive health care should be available to all women and men. The Declaration states that "Those who value life should support access to services that prevent the transmission of HIV." And it opines that the ICPD Program of Action's "limited statements on abortion do not violate the teachings of any of our traditions".

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TALKING POINTS

- The U.S. shares with the Holy See a desire to strengthen families, enhance women's dignity and status through education and health care, and address population issues squarely within the broader development context.
- I hope that our delegations will be able to work closely together here to advance our common goals in these areas.
- We want the ICPD+5 review to chart the way forward for progress in population and development within the hard-won international understanding reached in Cairo.
- We do not want to reopen old controversies, and would oppose any attempt to change or go beyond the ICPD Program of Action.
- However, we do anticipate supporting future actions that will help us overcome the obstacles we are facing in implementing the commitments made in Cairo.
- (If raised) The U.S. expects the results of this Forum, and the whole ICPD+5 process, to include a comprehensive review of the ICPD Program of Action, lessons learned and steps ahead.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	Phone No. [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002. resume	Constance Dunham [partial] (1 page)	4/20/1995	P6/b(6)
003a. note	re: Dennis Bakke (1 page)	n.d.	P5
003b. letter	Dennis Bakke to Hillary Clinton (1 page)	3/16/1995	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 23250

FOLDER TITLE:

[International Women] [1]

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr772

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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-- 3/16/95 from Dennis Bakke, Pres., AES Corp., to let you know how important he thinks your trip to Pakistan, India, et al, is. They are struggling to improve life for their people and desperately want respect from and involvement by U.S. You can give hope and respect that few others could bring.

AES plans to invest nearly \$700 million in electricity generation facilities in each country, and he has met with Prime Minister Bhutto in this regard. They hope to sign additional agreements on the project when the Prime Minister is here next month. Anything you can do to assure her of AES' commitment to meeting Pakistan's electricity needs and of its credibility would be helpful.

If he can help any way, let him know.

CCs — See
— To Melanne, Patti, Liz B for briefing ^{per HRC} for info re upcoming trip
— To _____ for review/response
do R of T

COPY

March 16, 1995

Dennis W. Bakke
President
Chief Executive Officer

Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Hillary:

This note is to let you know how important I think your upcoming trip to Pakistan, India et. al. is and how pleased I am that you are undertaking the trip. I have spent considerable time in both countries of late. They are struggling to improve life for their people and desperately want respect from and involvement by the U.S. You can give hope and respect to the government and the people—especially in Pakistan—that few others could bring.

You may know that AES plans to invest nearly \$700 million in electricity generation facilities in each country and I have met with Prime Minister Bhutto on several occasions in this regard. When our projects are completed in Pakistan, they will likely represent the largest private investment by a single company in the history of the country. We will probably sign some additional agreements on the projects when the Prime Minister is here next month. Anything you can do to assure her of our commitment to meeting Pakistan's electricity needs and of our credibility as people would be helpful.

Again, it's an important time to make such a trip. You will honor the countries with your visit and make an enormous contribution. If I can help in any way, let me know.

Sincerely,



DWB/jh

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	While You Were Out [partial] (1 page)	5/18/1995	P6/b(6)
002. report	A New Congress, An Old Issue: Health Care '95 (8 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 23250

FOLDER TITLE:

[International Women] [2]

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr773

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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THE LUNTZ RESEARCH COMPANIES

Luntz Research & Strategic Services ■ The Public Opinion Company ■ Luntz Corporate ■ Luntz Worldwide

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A New Congress, An Old Issue: Health Care '95

The failure to pass health care reform in the 103rd Congress has not weakened the desire of most Americans for modifications to the national health care delivery system. By mid-summer 1994, more than 60% of Americans believed that Congress should wait until the next session to consider a "better" bill. That, coupled with Republican attacks on the Crime Bill and its subsequent delay in passage, effectively ended health care reform for 1994. **However, Americans did not say table health care reform forever -- they said wait until the next session. That next session is here.**

Whereas the 1992 election was a call for "change," the 1994 election is a demand for dramatic "reform." But make no mistake. November 8, 1994 was about changing the players on Capitol Hill, and changing the "solutions." Our post-election polling makes clear that the failure of the Administration to *understand* public sentiment about health care -- and not the placement of health care on the legislative agenda -- was a significant factor in the Democratic defeat in November. Today, **less than one in five Americans believe "the health care system in this country should be kept basically the same."** A majority (52%) believe it should be "reformed," and 28% maintain that the health care system must be "radically changed."

The debate must now progress from generic concepts to specific reforms. The substantiation must lie in empirical evidence. The public will accept no less. They have been left too long to wonder *what* the entire debate is about, *when* it will begin, and *who* will now be in charge of it.

The new Congress has been given a strategic opportunity to deliver the type of modest and sensible reform the American people desire. As this national benchmark survey conducted for the **Healthcare Leadership Council** shows, such reform must be accomplished without the type of government intrusion which was proposed by Washington -- and soundly rejected by the American people -- in 1994.

To go beyond what the public will accept is to invite failure on the issue. But to ignore the call for reform altogether is perhaps much worse, for it signals to the public that Washington, despite 100 fresh faces and a newly-assembled majority in both the House and Senate, is conducting "business-as-usual."

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It is within this context that the American people offer their retrospective on "Health Care '94" and issue advice (if not admonition) for "Health Care '95."

Lessons from 1994

- Americans are disappointed that health care legislation did not pass in 1994. A majority believe that this was a negative occurrence for the country.
- When offered a list of priorities for 1995, health care reform actually finishes above cutting taxes.
- Satisfaction with the health care system in the U.S. is evenly split: 45% express at least some satisfaction (though the intensity of approval is extremely low), while 51% are dissatisfied.
- More people disapprove of President Clinton's handling of health care than his overall job performance. The President has lost nearly all credibility on the health care issue. Only one-fourth (25%) of all Americans trust him when he speaks on the issue.
- With 80% of Americans still calling for health care reform, a majority of Americans believe that the health care system is so broken that the federal government *must* get involved.
- The credibility of the health care industry and the medical profession have been damaged by the health care debate: only 30% of Americans trust doctors "completely" or "mostly" when they speak on health care. Further, Americans are most likely to believe an independent health care expert (32%) or a friend or family member (29%) rather than a doctor (26%) in determining which health care package offers the best combination of cost, choice and quality.

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The most important lesson from 1994 must serve as the first piece of advice for 1995: no proposal can put government in the position of restricting quality and choice.

It may have taken a long time to discover this fact and then explain it to the nation in the last session, but once done, the Clinton health care package was doomed. By the end of the health care debate, a majority of Americans felt that the Clinton plan would increase the cost of their coverage, reduce the number of choices and quality of care they would receive, and relinquish control of health care to a federal government which is out-of-touch and unable to affect positive national change.

Repetition of this mistake may lead to repetition of its consequences: a perception that the party in legislative power is unresponsive to the needs of the people and therefore unworthy of their trust (and votes).

Advice for 1995

In order to avoid a repeat of last month's *tsunami*, lawmakers would be wise to listen to the American people and heed their advice for re-approaching health care in 1995.

- Very few people think that health care reform will pass in 1995. Now that Republicans control Congress, **just 15% think there is an "excellent" or "good" chance that reform legislation will be enacted in the next Congress, while an overwhelming 85% think chances for passage are only "fair" or "poor."**
- The public is most likely to blame Republicans in Congress for the failure of health reform passage in 1994: it therefore follows that Republicans would likely be given credit for its passage in 1995-96.
- Americans would favor a GOP-backed plan over one endorsed by the President, 44%-32%.
- From a communications standpoint, Americans react equally favorably to the terms "health care" and "health insurance."
- Americans categorically reject universal coverage as advocated last session: 70% favor universal *access* to services, with just 30% favoring that the government guarantee *coverage* to every American.

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- Americans call for specific components as part of a health care improvement package, namely, portability, guaranteed renewability (when informed of the concept) and medical savings accounts.

Specific Reforms

What, then, must Congress do? What type of "reform" do Americans want? Simply put, reform that does not change the basic nature of *their* current health care arrangement but which makes noticeable changes to the perceived deficiencies in the national delivery system. **The real challenge for Congress, the medical profession and the health care industry lies in delivering on the simplicity of what Americans want: let me keep my own, and don't let anyone take it away from me.**

The fact is, those with health care coverage are very pleased with what they have right now; **only 12% express dissatisfaction with their health care plan.** Even when asked about specific features of their coverage, the level of dissatisfaction still remains quite low:

- 23% are dissatisfied with the COST of their plan;
- 10% are dissatisfied with the range of CHOICES they have;
- 6% are dissatisfied with the QUALITY of care they receive.

Ironically, Americans tend to be somewhat more content with their coverage now than they were a year ago, when they were being told that such coverage was inadequate and in need of government intervention. The effort to have Big Brother reach in and touch each of us personally having failed, Americans have a heightened appreciation for the type of coverage they currently enjoy.

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Leave Managed Care Alone

Popular agreement with personal coverage is further supported by the following chart, which illustrates the overwhelming satisfaction by all Americans with the quality and choice of their current health care plan, regardless of their type of insurance. As shown below, this singularity of opinion breaks down somewhat when the issue of cost is examined:

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>HMO</u>	<u>PPO</u>	<u>CONVENTIONAL</u>
QUALITY	90%	91%	94%	90%
CHOICE	89%	87%	91%	89%
COST	74%	77%	81%	71%

This chart destroys "conventional wisdom" put forth by some that "conventional coverage" (fee-for-service) is preferred superior to managed care, particularly with respect to the number of choices and the enhanced quality of care it offers its members. As the survey results demonstrate, in addition to being far more satisfied than their fee-for-service counterparts with the cost of their plan, people in managed care are more satisfied with the quality and choice they receive as well.

This data indicates two clear conclusions:

- (1) That attempts to dismantle the managed care industry over the past two years failed miserably, as its premise chokes the type of marketplace choices which all Americans cherish; and,
- (2) That efforts by Members of Congress in 1995 to tinker with managed care will be challenged vigorously by members of managed care themselves.

The Ideal Health Care Plan

In testing various health coverage plan components, Americans themselves have come up with an "ideal health care plan." This reform package is simple in that it consists of just two fundamental features: portability and guaranteed access to coverage despite a pre-existing condition or illness.

With a remarkable 87% approving of the following specific health care reform package, including 52% "strongly" so, Congress has an unmistakable opportunity to literally give the people what they want:

"An ability to carry your health insurance from one job to the next. A guarantee of your ability to keep your health insurance if you lost your job. A guarantee that you or a family member could not be turned down by a health insurance company because of a pre-existing condition or illness."

An examination of specific verbatim responses about the plan further elucidate the reasons why the public embraces this new **"Totally Transferable Non-Cancellable Health Care Alternative:"**

"I like it because family members cannot be turned down because of an existing condition. . . . I am about to retire and would like to take my insurance with me."

"I like the part about not being turned down. One of my friends who had cancer had a hard time keeping insurance: the insurance knew his cost would be high because of the cancer."

"I don't think that if you lose your job you should lose your insurance."

"When I lost my job, that was it. It shouldn't happen that way. You should have a choice."

Medical Savings Accounts

Last session, 22 bills sponsored and supported by Members on both sides of the aisle, and endorsed by different groups within the health care and insurance industries, would have provided for "Medical Savings Accounts" (MSA's). Similar to IRA's, MSA's allow employees to recoup any medical insurance dollars which they and their families had not used at the end of the year by placing them in a special tax-free account. For healthy families who do not "spend" all of their insurance money in a given year, MSA's provide a medical nest egg to help pay for emergencies and long-term care later on.

As tested by some employers nationwide, MSA's have met with resounding success by employees who feel the double benefit of quality coverage *and* a financial "bonus." As tested in this national survey, a majority (56%) of Americans support inclusion of MSA's in a national health care reform package, and 57% say they would use such a tax-free medical savings account if it were made available to them.

Beyond its support in a telephone poll (where MSA's are defined for respondents who undoubtedly are hearing about them for the first time), MSA's are one of the most popular health care concepts featured in today's discussions. When mentioned in focus groups, where unlike telephone surveys, discussions expand and definitions turn into explanations, confused or skeptical respondents become informed and supportive. The "too-good-to-be-true" mentality that many have of MSA's, dissipates with the introduction of hard-evidence about its implementation and personal success stories from real people.

The more intense acceptance of MSA's in the focus group setting suggests popular acceptance of MSA's. However, both the qualitative and the quantitative research -- as well as the real-life stories -- proves that the educational effort is absolutely necessary. To know MSA's is to love them. To use MSA's is to restore a little bit of faith in a health care system which Americans believe accommodates their own personal needs, but fails to meet the needs of the nation as a whole.

Thus, any attempt at sensible and modest reform which attempts to protect the patient's right to access, portability and guaranteed renewability should go one step further by actively creating a reward (MSA's) of long-term health security for responsible insureds who do not abuse the system and who seek long-term coverage security.

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A Final Note

The one certain result of the health care debate of the past two years is the creation of **fear** among all Americans. Fear that health insurance will be denied because of a pre-existing condition or illness. Fear that career choices may come at the expense of maintaining health coverage. Fear that "Big Brother" will reach in and attempt to legislate the most fundamental component of life -- health care.

The only way to eradicate such fear is to respond to it directly. Americans want specifics: details, definitions, numbers. Accordingly, the final piece of advice for health care '95 comes in the form of a checklist of questions to help guide the debate:

- *What* does this particular feature entail?
- *What* does this mean to me?
- *How* much it will cost?
- *Will* I benefit either now or in the future?

To all involved in the health care debate: before proposing a generic concept *or* a specific reform this year, ask yourselves these questions. The American people surely will.

Methodology

This survey was conducted over the telephone from November 28th until December 1st. One thousand adults from across the nation were interviewed during this process. This survey has a margin of error of $\pm 3.1\%$ with a 95% confidence level. This means that in 95 out of 100 cases, results will fall within the margin of error.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	USIA to Hillary Clinton (4 pages)	8/21/1995	P5
002. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	3/3/1995	P1/b(1)
003. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	9/27/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 First Lady's Office
 Melanne Vermeer (HRC Foreign Trips)
 OA/Box Number: 15622

FOLDER TITLE:

Briefing Book of the First Lady, U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women 1995,
 Beijing, September 5 - September 6, 1995 [binder] [1]

Whitney Ross
 2006-0198-F
 wr787

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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U.S. AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT

August 21, 1995

Office of
the Administrator

MEMORANDUM FOR: The First Lady
FROM: Carol Lancaster, Acting Administrator
SUBJECT: Women's Political Participation and
Legal Rights Initiative

I wanted to bring you up to date on the initiatives that the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has been developing that are relevant to the Beijing Conference and will be ready to be announced there.

It is increasingly well recognized that economic and social progress will remain daunting -- not only for women, but for developing nations as a whole -- if women are denied equal legal status and lack a clear voice in public decision making. To respond to this challenge, USAID has developed a Women's Political Participation and Legal Rights Initiative. The Initiative recognizes that:

- While on paper most women around the world enjoy the right to vote, a web of cultural, social, legal, economic, and educational constraints often inhibit their actual political participation.
- Women's legal status is closely linked to their political participation, yet limitations on women's legal rights are widespread. Globally, restrictions on women's ownership of land and other property are common, making women less able to invest, borrow, and otherwise be economically productive. Moreover, women's ability to marry, divorce, conduct a wide variety of transactions, and even -- in some instances -- participate in family planning programs, is also often legally constrained and subject to the approval of male family members or guardians.

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- Enforcement of women's legal rights is often lax: intimidation and violence are often used to discourage women's legal claims and disenfranchise women.

USAID's initiative will consist of two distinct, but mutually reinforcing, programs to address these concerns: political participation and legal rights.

Women's Political Participation

The goal of the Women's Political Participation program is to increase women's access and involvement in both elections and ongoing political activities in emerging democracies around the globe. Specifically, the program will provide assistance in four areas critical to achieving this goal:

- *Leadership Training:* Efforts will include support to women candidates and newly elected officials. Through this support, women's abilities to build a base of political power and to conduct political, legislative and other governmental activities will be enhanced.
- *Networking:* Supporting networks among politically active women is the second integral component of the program. This will enable women who are already active in politics to share their valuable experiences and ideas with other women leaders. The initiative will support women's political organizations which engage and empower other women and which help to build networks in support of women's participation.
- *Civic Education:* Activities will include support for long and short-term programs involving civic education for women, particularly for groups that have traditionally been marginalized. Civic education will result in increased knowledge and awareness among all women about their political and legal rights and responsibilities and increased registration and voter participation among women.
- *Technical Training.* The achievement of the program's goal also requires the provision of technical services which will strengthen women's participation in the political process. These activities may include a small grants program to support indigenous nongovernmental organizations in pilot or experimental activities, as well as general institutional support, research and studies.

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Women's Legal Rights

While a number of effective programs have been put in place to facilitate women's awareness of their legal rights, much greater capacity is required to adequately address the widespread problem of women's legal status. Equitable enforcement of women's legal rights necessitates the strengthening of nongovernmental organizations, academic institutions and other organizations that facilitate linkages between communities and the state, encourage a more participatory decision making process, and demand greater accountability from governmental institutions.

The Women's Legal Rights program will both develop knowledge and disseminate information regarding women's legal status and build the capacity of organizations and institutions to bolster those legal rights. The Initiative's research- and capacity-building efforts will focus on three key areas: legislative issues, the judiciary, and community attitudes and customs with regard to women's legal rights. It is clear that discriminatory laws, judicial interpretation and local practices all shape the level of acceptance and enforcement of women's legal rights in the developing world. The initiative will undertake important programs in:

Research and Information Dissemination: This will support research and documentation as a basis for identifying the highest priority legal rights issues affecting women to determine the most severe obstacles to women's legal rights (legislative, judicial, community awareness/acceptance). These programs will also identify the types of program interventions that are most effective in improving women's legal status.

Nongovernmental Organization Capacity Building: Improving the capacity of nongovernmental organizations will be crucial as these organizations are given an expanding role in the design and implementation of development programs. A combination of program support and technical assistance will be available to support organizations that are striving to improve women's legal rights. These programs will include those that strengthen women's legal literacy, integrate gender issues into law school curricula, provide gender sensitivity training to the judiciary, provide or support legal clinics, engage in direct policy dialogue with legislators to promote more equitable laws and policies, and facilitate partnerships and networks across sectors.

We believe the Women's Political Participation and Legal Rights Initiative will make an important contribution to the goals expressed in Cairo, Copenhagen and those that will come out of Beijing.

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It is our hope that you may be able to announce this Initiative if you go to Beijing. I am sure you have heard all the arguments, pro and con, repeatedly for attending the Conference. Our view at USAID is that women's issues are urgent and compelling throughout the World and your presence would call attention to them in a way that no other person's would. It should be possible to do that without appearing to give approbation of any kind to the Chinese government's human rights, nuclear or other objectionable policies. Indeed, your being there could bring even more attention to the human rights failures -- especially as they affect women -- of the government of China and perhaps serve to bring about a more rapid amelioration in those policies.

Please let me know if you need further information about this Initiative or any other of our programs before your departure.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Lisa to Hillary Clinton et al., re: Media Strategy (5 pages)	8/30/1995	P5
002. fax	Carol Emerling to Melanne Verveer [partial] (1 page)	8/24/1995	P6/b(6)
003. telegram	USIA Operations Center (4 pages)	9/23/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer (Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 10254

FOLDER TITLE:

Beijing - Memos

Whitney Ross
2066-0198-F
wr781

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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DRAFT FOR DISCUSSION

MEMORANDUM

To: Hillary, Maggie, Melanne (cc: Neel, Patti)
Fr: Lisa
Re: Suggested Media Strategy for UN Fourth World Conference on Women
Dt: August 30, 1995

Throughout your trip, it is important for us to underscore your longstanding work and advocacy on behalf of women, families and children. It is important to stress the interconnection between these issues: If women flourish, families flourish, economies flourish and therefore communities and societies are healthy, strong and flourishing. This will provide the media with a context for your trip to Beijing and will also serve as the uniting theme, tying together your trips to Beijing, Copenhagen and South Asia, and your speeches to the UN to all of the work that you have done here at home domestically on behalf of women, families and children not just as First Lady but also over the past 25 years.

I think to reinforce the notion of bringing your trip to Beijing home, it is important to schedule some listening sessions following the Atlanta and Santa Fe models upon your return. These events will serve to visually and substantively connect your trip to the UN Women's Conference to women in the United States. I would propose doing one or two with working women and one with young women (college or late high school age). The reason I suggest both working women and younger women is to draw a connection between the two. Investing in and educating girls and younger women leads to working women who will contribute to a healthy and prosperous society.

In addition to scheduled events, we should give some thought to potential media opportunities. I have some thoughts which I have outlined below. Maggie, Melanne and I agree that we do not want to make any commitments at this time and want to stay fluid to see how things go in China. I generally propose some press opportunities while on the trip, followed by series of press opportunities when you return as a way to report back on your trip. With all this in mind, here are some suggested press opportunities with possible dates with the goal of riding out the positive press coverage and positive press relations we hope to gain on this trip:

o 10 minute one-on-one interview with Judy Woodruff of CNN while in Beijing (Judy will be anchoring from Beijing during the Women's Conference). -- September 6.

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o 30 minute on the record wrap up session with travelling press corps. We could potentially chose to do this session in Mongolia on the terrace of the Guest House which Maggie says is beautiful. We could do the 30 minute wrap up session with the cameras and then host an informal cocktail reception with the press on the terrace. It would be a nice conclusion to the trip. -- September 7.

o Dan Rather has requested a one-on-one interview with you upon your return for the evening news. He has requested to be the first prime time television interview. I would suggest pre-taping a 10 minute one-on-one interview with Dan Rather on September 11 to air that evening. What I like about the Rather interview as the first interview when you are back is that it establishes the Women's Conference and women's issues as a serious story. This will help to reinforce our message that women's issues are not "soft" issues. -- September 11.

o Suggest a women's listening session event in DC/Baltimore area on September 11 or 12. Not only would this serve to immediately bring your trip to Beijing home, but it will also give fresh domestic b-roll footage to tie in with the footage from Beijing. If we do a women's listening session in a college town (i.e. Baltimore), you could conduct a college press round table discussion to talk about your trip and women's issues after the listening session. If we do women's listening session in a college town, I would suggest going to a community college.

o 30 minute live appearance on "Good Morning America" with women from Atlanta and Santa Fe listening sessions to discuss UN Fourth World Conference on Women and related issues. The preference is to have you in the studio in NY with Joan Lunden and the women from the listening sessions and then have a satellite interaction with women at Beijing conference (probably Ela Bhatt and one other) -- September 12 or 13.

o Guest appearance on "Regis & Kathie Lee" from 9 am-10 am after "Good Morning America" while we are in NY. Regis and Kathie Lee has a huge women's audience and would be an important target group for you to hit. -- September 12 or 13.

o On the record press breakfast with Los Angeles Times. To be broadcast by C-SPAN. Not only is California an important state for us politically, but the Los Angeles Times understands international and Pacific Rim politics. In addition, it has a large audience of opinion makers. -- September 13 or 14.

o 30 minute one-on-one interview with Lanny Jones of People Magazine. You could do the interview with White House photo spread of photos taken during your trip. -- Week of September 11 to come out on the stands the week of September 18.

o Host an on the record luncheon at White House for the editors of women's magazines. -- Week of September 11 or week of

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September 18. (I think this is something we should institute on a regular basis over the next year, perhaps once every three months.)

- o One hour of television satellites into major markets for their noon television shows, which are usually heavily female audiences. -- September 14 or 15.

- o One hour of radio interview time with radio talk shows heavily geared to women's audiences. -- September 14 or 15.

- o Do a background or on the record meeting with the "economic tong". (There are a number of tongs, or informal groups of reporters, that Mike McCurry is trying pull in on a regular basis to see senior White House officials to give the press more access.) You could talk about economic issues as they pertain to women. Mike McCurry thinks this would be a great idea. -- Week of September 18

- o Education trade press -- Roundtable discussion with education reporters to talk importance of education of young women and girls to our economy and our society. -- Week of September 18.

- o Pitch a "Prime Time Live" segment which would be done by Ann Compton that would tell the story of your trip to South Asia and Beijing and how those two trips relate to what you are doing here at home. Suggested air date September 13, the day before the Beijing conference ends, or a week later on September 20. This would probably entail a 20 minute one-on-one interview with Ann Compton.

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List of Travelling Press to China and Mongolia

1. Terry Hunt, AP -- Chief White House correspondent. He is a fan of yours and therefore he will have high expectations. He is very fair and an all around good person.
2. Larry McQuillan, Reuters -- White House correspondent. Second to Gene Gibbons. Larry has the reputation for being one of if not the nicest reporters in the White House Press Corps. He interviewed you last winter about your work on behalf of the Gulf War veterans and wrote a very positive story.
3. Andrea Mitchell, NBC -- Former White House correspondent. She was replaced by Brian Williams, whom NBC is grooming to take over for Tom Brokaw. Andrea now covers the State Department. She is very aggressive and a very good reporter.
4. Claire Shipman, CNN -- White House correspondent. She is CNN's newest White House hire, covering the White House with Wolf Blitzer and Jill Doherty. Claire was with us on our trip to South Asia. She is very fair and positive toward you. She is also very easy going.
5. Ann Compton, ABC -- White House correspondent. Second to Brit Hume. Ann has covered the White House for years, usually doing spots for Good Morning America. Ann can be aggressive, but is usually very fair. I believe we made her a Hillary fan on the South Asia trip.
6. Martha Teichner, CBS -- General correspondent. Has done a large amount of foreign reporting. Martha was with us on the trip to South Asia and did a number of very positive stories on you and your trip for CBS This Morning. She is still talking about how wonderful the South Asia trip was.
7. Hillary Stout, Wall Street Journal -- White House correspondent. Covers the White House with Mike Frisby. Hillary came to the White House beat within the past month or so replacing Rick Wartzman. Prior to coming to the White House, Hillary covered health care and was one of the reporters who did the most balanced and most in depth coverage of the debate. She interviewed you last fall and wrote a positive profile piece which appeared on the front page of the Wall Street Journal.
8. Martha Brant, Newsweek -- General assignment reporter. Martha is about 28 or 29 years old and has been a general assignment reporter with Newsweek for a year. She is based in New York and was a writer and researcher for Newsweek before becoming a general assignment reporter. She is a Yale graduate. Martha did a significant amount of the general assignment reporting for the Newsweek cover story on John F. Kennedy, Jr. earlier this month.
9. John Ficara, Newsweek Photographer

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10. Doug Mills, AP Photographer
11. Win McNamee, Reuters Photographer
12. Stephanie Smith, ABC -- Network television pool producer.
13. Gary Rosenberg, ABC -- Network television sound person.
14. Douglas Allmond, ABC -- Network television camera person.

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	Phone No. [partial] (1 page)	11/16/1995	P6/b(6)
002. memo	Lynn Cutler to Hillary Clinton, re: Beijing (2 pages)	5/25/1994	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 First Lady's Office
 Melanne Verveer (Subject Files: Bankruptcy - Bosnia)
 OA/Box Number: 20022

FOLDER TITLE:

Beijing: Beijing - Clips [1]

Whitney Ross
 2006-0198-F
 wr785

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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New File Beijing
MEMORANDUM

*Melanne + Anne B
Maggie
Arens*

TO: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FROM: LYNN CUTLER *lynn*
RE: FOLLOW-UP TO MEMO ON BEIJING
DATE: MAY 25, 1994

*Pls. discuss + advise
HRC*

7 On Monday, I attended a meeting at USIA conducted by Iris Burnett, Chief of Staff at USIA, and learned that there has been an interagency group of women who have come together to work on international women's issues.

Many of the issues I shared with you in my first memo are on their agenda as well. The main point is that we need to deal with all three international conferences (population, women, social issues) with a set of articulated and ongoing issues. Also, because of the strong positions regarding women from the Vienna Conference on Human Rights, continuity is important.

I also learned that the earlier suggestion I made to you about outreach to the agencies is underway and each agency has been asked to submit what they are doing for women to the State Department. After each agency's input is included into an overall document, which also includes recommendations from the last Preparatory Conference, it will go to the Hill for comment and then to the next Prepcon in April of 1995. As you know, every country needs to produce a national plan for the Beijing Conference. *who?*

7 USIA wants to produce materials that can be used internationally for training of women to help them to achieve their goals in their countries.

Finally, it is also clear that the women's community will need to keep continued pressure on to move the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) to the Senate for action in this year. The United States and Iraq are the two larger countries which have not yet ratified the Convention.

It is in the legal department at State, and is in the process of going out for final comment to the agencies. As I discussed this with Senators Boxer and Murray, they are ready to raise the issue with Secretary Christopher so that there is understanding that this must move sooner rather than later, and that there is a body of people who can be mobilized to help gain passage. Lael Staegell is in the process of analyzing all of the issues that could develop during the consideration by Foreign Relations and then the full Senate.

*We need to move
on both Women's
+ Children's*

Convention
COPY

Hillary Rodham Clinton
May 25, 1994
Page Two

I am attaching the document which B'nai Brith Women, who have been heroes on this issue have prepared. Note the huge coalition they have put together over the years.

I hope that this additional information is helpful and that we may be able to talk soon.

I was at the breakfast this morning—you were terrific. It was an important forum and you hit a home run. That whole message about women as the caregivers and decision-makers is what Ann Lewis and I were trying to get out there.

cc: Melanne Verveer and Ann Bartley

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Larry Butler to Hillary Clinton, re: Northern Island Political Leadership Opportunity in Northern Ireland (6 pages)	1/21/1999	P5
002a. agenda	1999 Northern Ireland Political Leadership Opportunity for Women January 18-24, 1999 [partial] (4 pages)	1/18/1999	P6/b(6)
002b. list	Attendants for Northern Ireland Political Leadership Opportunity for Women January 18-24, 1999 [partial] (2 pages)	1/20/1999	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 First Lady's Office
 Melanne Verveer (Subject Files: Non-Profits - October 7, 1994)
 OA/Box Number: 20047

FOLDER TITLE:

Northern Island - Vital Voices [1]

Whitney Ross
 2006-0198-F
 wr739

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

File
Northern
Ireland

January 21, 1999

FOR FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FROM: LARRY BUTLER (W)

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland Political Leadership Opportunity
for Women Event, Friday, January 22 at 10:45 a.m.

Setting

You are greeting the participants of Mary Louise Oates' initiative to provide a cross-section of Northern Irish women political activists with a week-long seminar (program attached) covering the nuts-and-bolts of political action. Most prominent among the 20 attendees are Daphne Trimble (spouse of First Minister David Trimble), Inez McCormick (head of Ireland's combined trade union movement) and Geraldine McAteer. They are relatively young -- the average age is under 40, meaning that they have grown up with *the Troubles*.

You are meeting them following Mo Mowlam's successful brokering of yet another cliff-hanger deal that moved Good Friday implementation closer to its final goal. Though the mood on the ground is generally grim, and subject to fluctuations, there is reason for optimism. Your objectives with this group is:

- Indicate your strong support for follow through on the September Vital Voices Conference in Belfast.
- Reaffirm the President's undiminished commitment to supporting implementation of the Good Friday Accord.
- Remind them that thanks to hard work and despite occasional setbacks, much good has happened since Good Friday and that their commitment is critical to the permanence of peace and establishment of social equality and justice in Northern Ireland.

Trimble accepted February 15 as the date when the Assembly will formally vote on establishing the new Executive, after which Mowlam is free to start the process of naming the new ministers. He skillfully secured a large majority of unionist votes in support of this. This frames up the final step clearly -- a

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substantial IRA gesture on decommissioning or a bold political gamble by unionists to move forward in the absence of an IRA gesture will unlock the rest of the process. The target date for devolution is March 10, though Mowlam has allowed for a month's slippage to factor in the contribution our St. Patrick's Day events can make if necessary. The combination of Mowlam and Blair, teamed with Bertie Ahern and the President is the best guarantee that peace will succeed and endure.

However, Tony Blair told the President today that he is concerned at the prospect for renewed violence. He bases this fear on increasing "street" violence in the form of IRA and Loyalist punishment attacks on members of their own communities, and on sporadic, and minor, acts of terrorism by renegade elements on both sides. Nonetheless, and in the face of strong Tory criticism, Blair is holding firm on continuing prisoner releases and the other confidence-building areas of the Good Friday Accord.

The political context for Women in Northern Ireland (adapted from a NI Academic paper)

The Northern Ireland Assembly elections were encouraging for progress in women's participation in the political process as 14 of the 108 seats went to women candidates. However, this is still unacceptably low and the majority is tilted to nationalist parties -- five for Sinn Fein and three for SDLP (Unionists placed three women in the Assembly, Monica McWilliams' Women's Coalition snagged two seats, though Pearl Sagar failed in her bid, and the remaining seat went to the Alliance Party).

Anyone looking at television footage of political leaders assembling for the all party talks or giving interviews could be forgiven for thinking that women have had a limited involvement in the peace process. The reality is different. Women have made a distinctive and significant contribution to the search for peace in Ireland over many years and are playing an increasingly vital role at many levels.

This has not been easy. Ireland, and Northern Ireland in particular, is a (decreasingly) conservative society where women's roles were defined primarily in relation to home and family. Some of the women involved in the early phases of the Civil Rights Movement remember participating in marches and demonstrations demanding "one man, one vote," without any consciousness of the implicit anomaly. Such contradictions held true across both communities and were accentuated by the

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religious and social structures through which women were elevated as symbols of community identity and bearers of tradition but precluded from a public role in the negotiation and re-negotiation of those traditions.

At a practical level women have faced many problems in becoming involved in the initiatives that underlay the start of the peace process. Many had to combine community and campaigning activities with responsibilities to family, home and employment. Amid all this many have also suffered terrible personal tragedies, loss of close relatives or friends and disruption of family life, as a direct result of violence. Such experiences erected barriers of suspicion and fear between women and it is hard to overestimate the effort that has been needed to begin the process of dismantling them.

But out of all these problems, perhaps because of them, women have made a vital and distinct, if undervalued, contribution to the search for peace. In the initial phase of the current "Troubles" during the early 1970s, women were involved in the first groups, such as **Women Together** and **Women for Peace**, which emerged struggling to put some control on the spread and impact of violence, to keep communities together through disruption and intimidation and to begin the long process of building and rebuilding bridges across the community divide.

Pioneers such as **Sadie Patterson and Margaret Dougherty** took courageous steps in a hostile environment to begin the search for reconciliation. The major outpouring of feeling against violence which was channeled into the mass marches and rallies of the **Peace People** during 1976 and 1977 brought many women into a more public role since the movement was largely led and supported by women, notably **Nobel Peace Prize Laureates Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan** (John Hume's wife, Pat, is a **defacto Laureate** given her partnership in his 30 year quest for peace that earned him and David Trimble a share of his recent Nobel prize as his partner the past 30 years; the same goes for Daphne Trimble, though that couple is a more recent entry to the political scene).

The experience of that period showed women trying to move outside the existing political structures, a distinctive and recurring theme in the contribution women have made to the peace process. While some judgements have labeled it as a phase of naïve optimism that did little to reduce violence or break the traditional political mold, for many women it was a crucial experience. They gained insights and understandings that led

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them to involvement in a whole range of groups and initiatives focusing on practical social issues, inter-denominational contacts and community reconciliation.

As a result the 1980s, which seemed to be a period of marking time for women's influence, it can now be reassessed as a decade of "quiet revolution." Women became increasingly active at all sorts of levels in community groups, professional organizations and the trade unions - focusing on social, economic and environmental problems. Women worked on the provision of employment opportunities, expansion of childcare provision, promotion of life-long education and awareness of women's health problems.

Through their campaigning, difficult questions such as domestic violence and rape became part of the public policy agenda and women took active steps to provide women's refuges and help lines. Women also continued to be heavily involved in organizations combating intimidation and sectarianism, supporting victims of violence and their families seeking increased understanding between the churches with many individuals actively networking across a whole range of groups. You and the President met with one such group, **WAVE**, last May.

In addition to the practical benefits of these actions, there was gain for future political involvement as women developed a range of skills of communication and presentation. They also, critically for the peace process, forged meaningful links across communities in order to address problems that transcended political divisions.

Although in many cases women overtly rejected the description of their activities as political, throughout the 1980s they built a basis for inputs to the peace process through establishing credibility and the practical value of their contribution. By the early 1990s, community groups led by women were playing a significant role in defusing tensions around sectarian murders and intimidation and building local accommodations and understandings. This was in a real sense "second track" political activity carried on often out of the limelight and with limited access to resources but of enormous benefit to all sectors of Northern Ireland society.

At the same time women were not afraid to face the "difficult issues," areas which were bound to provoke controversy in a divided society: the relationship between feminism and nationalist and unionist ideologies, and the appropriate

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response to the treatment of women prisoners convicted of terrorism offenses (primarily IRA-affiliated).

Through handling such questions and accepting that there would be serious differences, women were able to work out strategies, which allowed them to accept differences in some areas without rejecting the possibility of working together on others. Seeing diversity as a normal, even a positive attribute, rather than a threat, is a lesson which many of them hope will not be lost on male politicians.

After the experiences and community-based successes of the 1980s, it was not surprising that with the recent cease-fires and the beginning of the negotiation process, women's voices began to be more clearly heard. Women are now more actively involved in most of the political parties, some of which now formally recognize the importance and value of having a proportion of women representatives (notably Sinn Fein and SDLP) and the formation of the Women's Coalition has had both direct and indirect effects.

The whole process through which the Women's Coalition came into existence is a clear example of the contribution women are now making to the peace process. There was extensive debate among women in a spectrum of organizations with links across geographical, social, economic and generational differences - such as **The Northern Ireland Women's European Platform, The Derry Women's Centre, the Shankill Women's Forum and the Women's Information Group.**

They considered the central question of whether women should seek to engage in the peace process primarily by working through the existing political groupings that reflected their community allegiances or whether they should form a new organization. They sought to engage in dialogue with the established parties to gain inclusion of women representative groups and delegations and to ensure that issues that impact on women's lives were addressed in party platforms.

Only when it became clear that most of the parties were not receptive to this approach did they move to establish the Coalition. In developing policies and positions within the Coalition, women have also provided pointers for the peace process by their decision to put a formal view on the "constitutional position" on hold in order to allow discussion and the possibility of real negotiation and accommodation. (note -- the Assembly elections seem to have indicated that

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there are limitations to the broader appeal of a gender-oriented political party).

There has also been a vital contribution to the peace process by many women who are clear that they are "not involved in politics." Their activities in such things as "Talking and Listening Circles," and "Women in the Churches" project, the Women's Festivals held in small towns, and the "Beyond Violence" conference - linked to the ongoing work of Family and community center -- contain implicit actions and demands that are inseparable from the peace process.

So over thirty years, in ways adapted to their varied circumstances, women have continued to contribute to deepening the conceptualization of a peaceful society in Northern Ireland. Particularly over the last years, they have made an important contribution to the peace process by increasing the range of options, many of which other groups find it difficult to articulate because of their historical backgrounds.

One distressing area, one which however distasteful, needs to be recognized, is the dismissive and sexist treatment of women activists by a number of prominent members of some political parties and organizations - as illustrated by the humiliating experiences of Women's Coalition members in the Forum. This is a hangover from the past when women's public role was not recognized, and one which women are determined must finally be swept away as part of a wider peace process.

COPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Bruce Reed to Erskine Bowles, re: Budget Meeting on Welfare Reform (1 page)	10/5/1996	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer (Subject Files: Women's Museum - Women's Conference Circle)
OA/Box Number: 20059

FOLDER TITLE:

Vital Voices: Women's Human Rights [2]

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr761

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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~~Confidential~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 5, 1996

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: V2 - DATE: 11/16/2011

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: Bruce Reed
Gene Sperling

SUBJECT: Yesterday's Budget Meeting on Welfare Reform

We met with Leon and key Cabinet and White House officials on Wednesday afternoon to narrow the options to present to the President on changes in welfare reform. Approximately \$16 billion over 5 years is available for welfare reform -- \$3.4 billion for the welfare-to-work plan the President announced at the convention, and \$13 billion to moderate the impact of the welfare bill and take additional steps to make welfare reform work. (\$13 billion was the difference between the savings we called for in our balanced budget proposal, and the amount of savings in the bill the President signed. The \$13 billion number has therefore been seen internally and externally as the number that we could add-back and still be consistent with our balanced budget plan. The additional \$3.4 billion for the welfare-to-work initiative was paid for with additional financing measures that were announced on the convention week.)

The central budget issue for the President will be how to divide up that \$13 billion. In signing the bill, the President promised to soften immigrant and food stamp cuts, but never specified a dollar amount. While most people at the meeting recognized that some good might happen from such a bill, much of what we propose will be about what we want our message to be -- and to whom. Advocacy groups expect the full \$13 billion or more to go into "fixing" the welfare bill, and will point to Presidential statements to suggest we have made certain commitments. Republicans in Congress say (and many Democrats concede) that most of those changes won't happen, and Republicans will say that we are trying to weaken welfare reform.

The menu of possible changes includes \$0.1 - \$3.4 billion for food stamps; \$2.9 -11.3 billion for immigrants; and \$0.3 - 6.6 billion for child care tax credits and other measures to promote work. (A related \$2.0 - 6.4 billion change on disabled children can be done administratively, and if done a little later, could possibly not have to be paid for within the \$13 billion.) One idea that gained significant attention at the meeting was delaying the immigrant cuts for 1 - 2 years. Members of Congress would not have to say that they were reversing cuts - only that it was giving legal immigrants a fair chance to achieve citizenship before any benefits were eliminated. This idea also has the benefit of having no costs in the year 2002.

The group agreed to develop three options for the President, each with a slightly different emphasis: 1) a "cuts" package that focuses primarily on restoring food stamp and immigrant cuts; 2) a "work" package that meets a basic commitment on food stamps and immigrants, but puts more emphasis on new measures to promote work; and 3) a "kids" package that also meets the basic commitment on food stamps and immigrants, but goes further to protect children. We are working with Ken Apfel, at OMB to develop these options that reflect the group's general consensus.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Lynn Cutler to Hillary Clinton (2 pages)	5/18/1994	P5
002. memo	Lynn Cutler to Hillary Clinton (2 pages)	5/25/1994	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Public Liaison
Alexis Herman, Ruby Moy
OA/Box Number: 6027

FOLDER TITLE:

Beijing Conference 1995 [1]

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr776

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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MEMORANDUM

TO: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FROM: LYNN CUTLER
RE: WOMEN'S CONFERENCE IN BEIJING, 1995
DATE: MAY 18, 1994

Melanne suggested that I do a memo to both of you on this subject. First, I hope that this finds you well.

As you know, I have a great interest in the United Nations Conference on Women that will be held in Beijing in September of 1995.

I have attended several meetings here in Washington, but was out of the country at the time of the New York meeting.

Many of the women from inside the government as well as those of us outside have been talking and wanting to be helpful. I feel that there are great domestic political gains to be made from a successful United States effort. However, there is a growing concern about focus and resources.

Obviously, one of the first and most important decisions to be made in your office is what role you want to play in all of this. If you head our delegation (and I think you should), it raises the stakes for the other countries. However, the potential for message to women in this country is terrific.

At this point, there is a feeling that we lack strong leadership in this effort. I am happy to report that Tim Wirth told me last night that he is planning to enlarge his Secretariat to include support for the Women's Conference, as they have for the Population Conference. Because there has been such good outreach and an open process in the preparation for Cairo, and because the two are inextricably linked, it is good news indeed that Tim plans to become involved.

Another issue to be faced soon is the make-up of the delegations to the preparatory conferences. As you know, the regional meeting for the Far East will begin in Jakarta on June 7th. As I understand it, there are only State Department women on the delegation at this time. There is also an internal division of opinion about continuity. Some argue that different people should be sent to all of the preparatory conferences than ultimately go to Beijing. That argument calls for "spreading the political benefits around".

I would propose that it is critical to have the continuity with at least a portion of our final delegation. Most of the work will be done before Beijing, and it will be important that it not all be the work of State Department staff.

The non-governmental organizations have an enormous interest in all of this, and are waiting for signals that they will be included. This is an issue that needs attention because of the resource question, and most of all, because of the political ramifications.

As Karen Nussbaum is conducting preparatory meetings in the ten Federal Regions, (and with almost no money), she has found tremendous interest. The outreach to these meetings is limited by lack of resources, however. The Women's Bureau person in each of the Regions is doing the best they can to reach out especially to the N.G.O.'s. Fortunately, the far right so-called pro-family crowd has not yet invaded these meetings, as they did in preparatory meetings for previous conferences. We do have to be aware that this is a possibility in the future meetings.

Again, depending on the role you decide to take in this whole effort, I would recommend that you have the White House request that each major department of the government come up with three recommendations for the U.S. document for the conference. This would enable the women in those agencies and departments to come together and to look at the issues affecting women from the perspective of their work. This should only require one meeting, but would involve those working on policy in the process, and would ensure inclusion of diverse interests. (I could never have made that statement in any previous Administration!)

I know how swamped your staff is, and that you must stay focused on health care. I hesitated to keep raising this issue, but if we have don't focus on this conference now, we risk losing a great domestic political opportunity. One recommendation I would make is that you quietly, but definitively designate viable political leadership from the outside to be your eyes and ears on this conference. They could work with Arvonne Fraser and her people, and with Tim Wirth, Karen Nussbaum and others in the system to help pull all of the pieces together for you. You would have your own person to keep a political watch on events. Obviously, they would not speak for you unless specifically asked to. Information would be fed back to you by confidential memo.

It is my feeling at this time that Arvonne would welcome this. She has reached out to some of us a few times to seek political counsel and support. Certainly the women watching this whole process would welcome your involvement. I know for a fact that many of the women in the government who have been involved in discussions about the conference would be vastly relieved.

I am willing to play that role for you. I believe I can do so, and have longtime working relationships with Arvonne and others. Most of all, I would keep an eye on the political piece of all of this. The women of this country continue to stand with you and the President. This conference can affect their perceptions only if we fail to make the most of it. From a positive side, it represents a fabulous opportunity to tie in with the exciting work that Karen Nussbaum is doing at the Women's Bureau, and to help keep the message out there to American women that this administration is their partner and advocate.

Whatever your decision is, I wanted you to know that I am prepared to put in the time required to be of help in this process. Most of all, as you know, I want to be helpful to you personally.

Thank you for your wonderful note last week. I will always treasure the contents!

cc: Melanne Vermeer

COPY

Doris

MEMORANDUM

CC Melanne + Anne B
Maggie
Alicia

TO: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FROM: LYNN CUTLER *Lynn*
RE: FOLLOW-UP TO MEMO ON BEIJING
DATE: MAY 25, 1994

Pls. discuss + advise
IDRC

On Monday, I attended a meeting at USIA conducted by Iris Burnett, Chief of Staff at USIA, and learned that there has been an interagency group of women who have come together to work on international women's issues.

Many of the issues I shared with you in my first memo are on their agenda as well. The main point is that we need to deal with all three international conferences (population, women, social issues) with a set of articulated and ongoing issues. Also, because of the strong positions regarding women from the Vienna Conference on Human Rights, continuity is important.

I also learned that the earlier suggestion I made to you about outreach to the agencies is underway and each agency has been asked to submit what they are doing for women to the State Department. After each agency's input is included into an overall document, which also includes recommendations from the last Preparatory Conference, it will go to the Hill for comment and then to the next Precon in April of 1995. As you know, every country needs to produce a national plan for the Beijing Conference.

USIA wants to produce materials that can be used internationally for training of women to help them to achieve their goals in their countries.

Finally, it is also clear that the women's community will need to keep continued pressure on to move the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) to the Senate for action in this year. The United States and Iraq are the two larger countries which have not yet ratified the Convention.

It is in the legal department at State, and is in the process of going out for final comment to the agencies. As I discussed this with Senators Boxer and Murray, they are ready to raise the issue with Secretary Christopher so that there is understanding that this must move sooner rather than later, and that there is a body of people who can be mobilized to help gain passage. Lael Staegell is in the process of analyzing all of the issues that could develop during the consideration by Foreign Relations and then the full Senate.

We need to move
both Women's +
... issues

Convention
COPY

Hillary Rodham Clinton

May 25, 1994

Page Two

I am attaching the document which B'nai Brith Women, who have been heroes on this issue have prepared. Note the huge coalition they have put together over the years.

I hope that this additional information is helpful and that we may be able to talk soon.

I was at the breakfast this morning—you were terrific. It was an important forum and you hit a home run. That whole message about women as the caregivers and decision-makers is what Ann Lewis and I were trying to get out there.

cc: Melanne Verveer and Ann Bartley

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Awilda Marquez to Veronica Biggins, re: 4th World Conference on Women (4 pages)	4/12/1994	P5
002. cable	37th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women [partial] (1 page)	3/1/1993	P6/b(6)
002a. memo	Ruby Moy to Madge Henning, re: Beijing Conference (1 page)	9/27/1994	P6/b(6)
002b. memo	Ruby Moy to Madge Henning, re: Beijing Conference (1 page)	9/27/1994	P6/b(6)
002c. note	Ruby Moy to Alexis Herman, re: Beijing Conference (1 page)	9/26/1994	P6/b(6)
003. list	Confirmed Attendees for White House Meeting [partial] (2 pages)	1/19/1994	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Public Liaison
Alexis Herman, Ruby Moy
OA/Box Number: 6027

FOLDER TITLE:

Beijing Conference 1995 [2]

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr777

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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United States Department of State

Office of the Under Secretary
for Management

White House Liaison

April 12, 1994

MEMORANDUM

TO: Veronica Biggins
Joan Baggett
Alexis Herman
Melanne Verveer
Doris Matsui
Anne Bartley

FROM: Awilda Marquez

RE: Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, September 1995)

There are a number of issues relating to the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, September 1995) which, sooner or later, will stoke the interest of the White House. This Memorandum serves to introduce the issues and focus attention on what needs to be done to have (a) productive and meaningful participation by the U.S. in the Women's Conference and (b) a useful product that will advance the Administration's interests in women's issues in 1996 and thereafter.

STRUCTURE AND OUTPUT OF THE WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The Women's Conference will bring together delegations from around the world to discuss and adopt, among other things, a Platform for Action that is currently being developed by the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). (Each country will also submit a report on the status of women.) The Platform for Action follows on the Forward-Looking Strategies adopted at the 1985 Nairobi Women's Conference and will strive to elevate the dialogue on women's issues from exhortation to action items.

Previous meetings of the CSW (Vienna 1993; NYC January and March 1994) laid the groundwork for drafting the Platform for Action. The CSW will continue to develop the draft through regional world meetings in 1994, and the draft is expected to be finalized in the beginning of 1995.

It is the goal of the World Conference that each government will adopt the Platform for Action. There is some discussion that governments may be encouraged to announce their specific commitments on action items. Of course, it is

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impossible to know what the Platform will look like at the time of the vote and, therefore, what the U.S. position on the Platform will be. Nevertheless, this Administration will enter 1996 having taken a position on the Platform for Action on women's issues that was presented in Beijing.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE US POSITION ON CONFERENCE ISSUES

Preliminary drafts of the Platform for Action delineate critical areas of concern such as lack of power-sharing, growing burden of poverty on women, inequality in access to economic development, violence against women, and lack of commitment to women's human rights. Strategic objectives (the anticipated action items) address the critical areas of concern.

The US has submitted a number of proposed strategic objectives in several preparatory meetings of the CSW. They have not been presented, however, in a manner that reflects a focused set of priorities. More opportunities to make recommendations will occur in the upcoming regional meetings and in the final drafting session at the end of the year.

An overlay of three major areas for the US position has been discussed to some extent at State: women as equal citizens claiming full rights (ie, not as victims), women's legal literacy, and equal development of the girl-child. The time is now appropriate for the Administration to reflect on its priorities on women's issues -- especially the ones which it would wish to highlight in the Platform to be adopted in Beijing. The Platform presents an opportunity to "bring back to the US" issues the Administration wishes to highlight and implement in 1996 and beyond. If a particular overarching focus is desired, it needs to be expressed to the responsible person in the State Department. White House input will be most productive if provided early in the process.

PARTICIPATION OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs)

NGOs are important to the mobilization of support for the Administration's positions in the Women's Conference, which will address issues ranging from abortion and reproductive rights to violence against women. NGOs are often on the cutting edge of issues, and they hope and expect to contribute to the US position. This feedback exercise can be an excellent opportunity to develop close and positive relations between them and the Administration. Broad-based national and grassroots organizations can (1) provide important input to U.S. positions on issues, (2) disseminate information on Conference preparations, (3) help implement action items expected to come out of China, and (4) help build support for the Administration's priorities.

Thus far, NGOs have been disappointed with the USG in its preparations for the Women's Conference. They have expressed frustration at being excluded from the process of developing the US positions on the Platform. It is their understanding that the US does not sincerely seek their input. They get

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little or no support in their efforts to attend and participate in regional meetings.

The message has to go out that NGO input is welcome and their support is necessary. If it is a White House priority, that needs to be expressed to the responsible person in the State Department.

I intend to add up to ten NGOs as "private sector advisers" on delegations to regional preparatory meetings of the CSW. The USG will not pay for the travel and expenses of the NGOs as private sector advisers, and they will not have authority to speak on behalf of the USG. The NGOs, however, will be members of the official delegation and thus will be invested in the success of US efforts.

I welcome White House suggestions on NGOs that have broad membership, geographical diversity and a history of involvement in national and international women's issues.

US ROLE IN THE CONFERENCE

The role of the US in the international arena must be sensitive to regional and other dynamics. The US should not try to dominate the dialogue that includes groupings of countries into Third World, G-77, Muslim, and geographical blocs. Nevertheless, the US can signal its principled position on issues without being a bully. It should act its part as a world leader by expressing its priorities clearly and developing support through quiet diplomacy in CSW meetings.

If the US can develop general priority areas that do not automatically preclude input from NGOs, the structure of priorities will help focus US efforts at the regional meetings and in Beijing.

The State Department is the lead agency on the Women's Conference and its preparations. If the White House intends to offer input into the setting of US priorities, discussions need to take place with (at least) Arvonne Fraser, the U.S. Representative to the CSW, and Melinda Kimble, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State covering the Women's Conference.

DELEGATION TO BEIJING

Interest in membership on the U.S. Delegation to the Women's Conference is already strong and is expected to become quite intense. I have already received many letters and resumes. Because there is no need to focus on delegation membership until 1995, it will be politically wise to accept letters of interest and advise individuals that no decision will be announced until late Summer 1995.

OUTREACH

The Department of Labor Women's Bureau is sponsoring a series of regional meetings in the US that will bring together local leaders and NGOs to disseminate information on the Women's Conference. The agenda for these meetings should clearly set up a process for providing input from the NGOs for

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the draft Platform for Action. These meetings provide important outreach opportunities including:

- participation of Congressional Women's Caucus and others
- mobilization of regional women leaders
- reaching out to NGOs
- speaking opportunities for women appointees

The White House may wish to take advantage of these opportunities.

Members of delegations attending previous Women's Conferences (Mexico 1975, Copenhagen 1980, Nairobi 1985) can be brought together to provide counsel on preparations, generate support for US positions, and increase outreach opportunities. Attached is a copy of the lists of previous delegation members.

CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST

Members of the Congressional Women's Caucus will probably be quite interested in the Women's Conference and related issues. They have not been mobilized as yet in any coordinated way. Yet the Caucus can be helpful. For example, it might sponsor legislation creating a fund that would help fund the NGO Forum in Beijing, pay for travel of NGOs to Beijing and cover some costs of organizing US preparations for Beijing. I believe something like this was done for the Population Conference in Cairo.

If there is White House interest in this, it might be appropriate to set up a meeting with members of the Caucus -- and other Congressional supporters -- and relevant White House and State Department folks (including Office of Legislative Affairs, of course).

BRIEFING

I propose that Arvonne Fraser, Melinda Kimble, and other State folks brief you on the above issues. I will call to set up the meeting in the next couple of days.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	Carmen Votaw to Ruby Moi, re: Status of Women (2 pages)	5/10/1994	P5
002. letter	Timothy Wirth to Alexis Herman (2 pages)	5/24/1994	P5
003. memo	Lynn Cutler to Hillary Clinton (2 pages)	5/25/1994	P5
004. memo	Doris Matsui to Alexis Herman (2 pages)	5/4/1994	P5
005. list	Confirmed Attendents for White House Meeting [partial] (2 pages)	1/19/1994	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Public Liaison
Doris Matsui
OA/Box Number: 5625

FOLDER TITLE:

Beijing - Early Planning

Whitney Ross

2006-0198-F

wr775

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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GIRL SCOUTS OF THE USA
WASHINGTON OFFICE
1025 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW
SUITE 309
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

Doris
MAY 11 1994

FAX TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

Please deliver the following pages:

TO: Ruby Mai Fax Phone#: 456-2983

LOCATION: White House - Alexis Herman's Office

FROM: CARMEN DECEA D. VOTAW FAX PHONE#: (202) 331-8065

LOCATION: _____

Subject/Title
of Piece Transmitting: Letter From McLarty

Number of pages(including this coversheet) 2

Date Transmitted: 5/10/94 Time Transmitted: 11:25 PM

Transmitted by: _____

Additional Comments:

Per our conversation.

If you have not received the complete transmission, please
call us at (202) 659-3780.

AMH:

I spoke with Carmen (659 3780). She is worried about US representation on Status of Women at UN. The US lost seat on this Commission. They are shocked. "Someone must've been asleep at switch." She said there is a preparatory meeting in NY. The list was composed of 10 white women. Shouldn't this have more diversity and more non-government members (There are 9 governmental reps.) What is the ruling? She talked to Mack and has faxed a copy of his response. Carmen wants you to watch this. We have this seat until the end of this year. This commission has been in existence for 50 years.

r

5/10/94

COPY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Received in
Washington Office

APR 5 1994

March 29, 1994

Ms. Carmen Delgado Votaw
Director, Government Relations
Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.
1025 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Suite 309
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ms. Votaw:

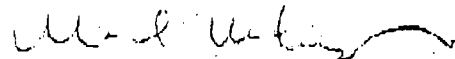
It was a pleasure meeting you at the Women in Government Relations meeting on Wednesday. I surely appreciated being included in the program.

Thank you for raising the questions about official delegations sent from the United States. My staff has looked into this matter and has been given assurances by the State Department that there is not a ten person limit for official delegations. In fact, the number fluctuates depending on the mission.

I have noted and agree that we need broad based representation on such trips, and you can be sure that we will be sensitive to that issue.

Again, it was nice seeing you and I appreciate your question.

Personally,



Mack McLarty
Chief of Staff to the President

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United States Department of State

*Under Secretary of State
for Global Affairs*

Washington, D.C. 20520-7250

May 24, 1994

Ms. Alexis Herman
Assistant to the President
and Director of Public Liaison
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Alexis:

This note is to follow-up on Friday's discussion on organizing to manage U.S. participation in this September's Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, the Social Summit in Copenhagen next March and the Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995.

The State Department is setting up a full-time secretariat to backstop all three conferences. This will be staffed with a small group of dedicated Administration people and foreign service officers from State's population office, the Bureau of International Organization Affairs which deals with U.N. issues, and elsewhere within State as appropriate. We will also coordinate existing working groups, and be sure that an inter-agency working group decides questions of policy and coordinates inter-agency participation in developing substantive positions for--and participation in--the three conferences. Our participation in the U.N. Committee on the Status of Women as it relates to preparations for Copenhagen and Beijing, in particular, will be managed by this working group. The secretariat and the policy group will report to me. We are close to a decision on an extremely capable, senior woman foreign service officer to head the secretariat, chair the inter-agency group, carry the lead for negotiations in the U.N. system, and be my operational eyes and ears as preparations for the conferences go forward.

If you agree with the second organizational piece, the strong political appointee, I will need your help. As discussed, we need a full-time, senior Administration appointee with strong credentials on women's issues and credibility with relevant NGO's to assist Ambassador Arvonne Frazer (our representative on the Committee on the Status of Women) and to act as liaison with NGO's in Washington and around the country, between the staff secretariat and the White House, Ambassador Albright's office and key Departments represented on the inter-agency working group. I need your suggestions for

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candidates for this position, and your intervention with OPM in getting a non-career SES slot for her. The sooner we get this position filled, the better; while the Cairo conference seems well in hand at this point, we must get to work soon with the NGO's and within the Administration on Copenhagen and Beijing.

In particular, we need to make a public announcement soon about our national commitment to Beijing. I will also need your help with funding for the three conferences. We probably have adequate funds in hand to cover Cairo, but the two follow-on conferences will be as or more costly and in a period of tight budgets we will have to fight for the money we will need; and we will certainly want to include NGO's as broadly as possible in our delegations. I will get back to you on this central issue for support and assistance.

This summarizes the discussion of Friday afternoon. None of this is particularly complicated now. We are moving ahead. Can you help now on a political appointee? (I'll follow-up with you by telephone.) The main issue down the road is funding. In a separate note I transmitted information about the selection of conference delegates--this per your request. For the next two weeks I will be mostly on airplanes; you can always reach me through Sandra Ulmer (647-6240), and in my absence, Andy Sens is in charge of my office (647-9333).

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Tim', with a large, sweeping initial 'T'.

Timothy E. Wirth

COPY

MEMORANDUM

TO: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FROM: LYNN CUTLER *Lynn*

RE: FOLLOW-UP TO MEMO ON BEIJING

DATE: MAY 25, 1994

cc Melanne - Anne B
Maggie
Alicia

Pls. discuss + advise
HRC

On Monday, I attended a meeting at USIA conducted by Iris Burnett, Chief of Staff at USIA, and learned that there has been an interagency group of women who have come together to work on international women's issues.

Many of the issues I shared with you in my first memo are on their agenda as well. The main point is that we need to deal with all three international conferences (population, women, social issues) with a set of articulated and ongoing issues. Also, because of the strong positions regarding women from the Vienna Conference on Human Rights, continuity is important.

I also learned that the earlier suggestion I made to you about outreach to the agencies is underway and each agency has been asked to submit what they are doing for women to the State Department. After each agency's input is included into an overall document, which also includes recommendations from the last Preparatory Conference, it will go to the Hill for comment and then to the next Prepcon in April of 1995. As you know, every country needs to produce a national plan for the Beijing Conference.

USIA wants to produce materials that can be used internationally for training of women to help them to achieve their goals in their countries.

Finally, it is also clear that the women's community will need to keep continued pressure on to move the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) to the Senate for action in this year. The United States and Iraq are the two larger countries which have not yet ratified the Convention.

It is in the legal department at State, and is in the process of going out for final comment to the agencies. As I discussed this with Senators Boxer and Murray, they are ready to raise the issue with Secretary Christopher so that there is understanding that this must move sooner rather than later, and that there is a body of people who can be mobilized to help gain passage. Lael Staegell is in the process of analyzing all of the issues that could develop during the consideration by Foreign Relations and then the full Senate.

We need to move
it with Women's
Issues

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Hillary Rodham Clinton
May 25, 1994
Page Two

I am attaching the document which B'nai Brith Women, who have been heroes on this issue have prepared. Note the huge coalition they have put together over the years.

I hope that this additional information is helpful and that we may be able to talk soon.

I was at the breakfast this morning--you were terrific. It was an important forum and you hit a home run. That whole message about women as the caregivers and decision-makers is what Ann Lewis and I were trying to get out there.

cc: Melanne Verveer and Ann Bartley

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May 4, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO ALEXIS HERMAN

FROM: DORIS MATSUI

RE: FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN
May 4, 1994
3:30 PM

PURPOSE:

To assess the progress and direction of the Platform for Action being developed by the UN Commission on the Status of Women.

BACKGROUND:

The Platform for Action follows on the Forward Looking Strategies adopted at the 1985 Nairobi Women's Conference. Previous meetings of the CSW (Vienna 1993, NYC January and March 1994) laid the groundwork for drafting the platform. CSW will continue to develop the draft through the regional world meetings in 1994 and is expected to be finalized at the beginning of 1995.

Preliminary drafts contain critical areas of concern such as lack of power sharing, growing burden of poverty on women, inequality in access in economic development, violence against women and lack of commitment to women's human rights.

The U.S. has submitted a number of proposed action items. There is concern, however, that there is a lack of focus on what the priorities should be. We still have the opportunity to give some guidance in the upcoming regional meetings and in the final drafting session at the end of the year. However, time is short and the train has already left the station.

State has been taking the lead on the development of the U.S. position on the Conference issues. Now is the time for the White House to set forth its priorities on women's issues. If there is a particular focus that the White House wishes to emphasize, it must be clearly stated to the State Department as quickly as possible.

The NGOs have been disappointed at their lack of inclusion in the development of U.S. positions on the Platform. We need to work with State to make sure that they communicate to the NGOs that they are indeed very important to the process.

In summary, this meeting gives us an opportunity to have an update on the progress thus far. At the same time, it will be

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necessary for us to pull in internally to decide what the administration's priorities are and how we communicate it to the CSW.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	General Message Points (2 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Women's Initiative and Outreach
OA/Box Number: 24084

FOLDER TITLE:

[Binder - Beijing +5/CEDAW] [United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all
Forms of Discrimination of Women] [2]

Whitney Ross
2006-0198-F
wr770

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or
financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President
and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of
personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed
of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C.
2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of
an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial
information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of
personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement
purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of
financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information
concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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GENERAL MESSAGE POINTS

- The UN agreement includes a commitment to immediate, unconditional, and unrestricted access to all sites in Iraq, including the Presidential sites and other so-called sensitive sites that UNSCOM has never had access to. Given Saddam's track record, what's important is whether he lives up to these commitments.
- There are some question marks and ambiguities in the agreement with respect to procedures for Presidential sites. We will need to work very closely with the Security Council and UNSCOM to close any possible loopholes.
- The Secretary General has agreed to allow some diplomats to accompany the inspectors in the palace sites. That may be acceptable if the inspectors are free to conduct rigorous and professional inspections.
- We are keeping our military forces in the Gulf at a high state of preparedness while we see if Saddam lives up to these commitments. We will continue to back the diplomacy with force.
- UNSCOM, with our support, will test Iraq's promise thoroughly and comprehensively in the days and weeks ahead.
- If Iraq interferes with the inspections or tries to undermine UNSCOM's efforts in any way, we will act firmly and forcefully and without delay. We will not allow Saddam to take us from crisis to crisis.
- As the President told the American people yesterday, he hopes the agreement will prove to be a step forward. But the proof is in the testing. The U.S. remains resolved and ready to secure -- by whatever means necessary -- Iraq's full compliance with its commitment to destroy its weapons of mass destruction.
- If Iraq undermines this agreement and the President determines that military force is required, our purpose remains clear:
 - We will seriously diminish the threat posed by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction program.
 - And we will seriously reduce his capacity to threaten his neighbors.

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- A military operation can't destroy his entire WMD program, but will leave him worse off than he is now.
- And, if he seeks to rebuild his weapons of mass destruction, we will be prepared to strike him again.
- Saddam Hussein, unlike any other world leader today, has used weapons of mass destruction – against his own people and his neighbors. He is a repeat offender. Dealing with Saddam requires constant vigilance. Consider:
 - Sanctions have denied Saddam \$110 billion, revenue he could have used to make his armed forces stronger and advance his pursuit of weapons of mass destruction.
 - Since the Gulf War, we have pushed back every time he has posed a threat to the region.
 - Determined UNSCOM inspectors have done a remarkable job despite Iraq's deceptions. They have uncovered and destroyed more weapons of mass destruction capacity than was destroyed during the Gulf War, including:
 - Nearly 40,000 chemical weapons.
 - More than 100,000 gallons of CW agents.
 - 48 operational missiles.
 - 30 warheads specifically fitted for chemical and biological weapons.
 - And a massive BW facility at Al-Hakim, equipped to produce anthrax and other deadly agents.
- In the 21st century, the community of nations may see more and more of the very kind of threat that Iraq poses now, a rogue state with biological and chemical weapons.

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